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# WHITE, RED, BLACK

## SKETCHES OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

IN

## THE UNITED STATES

DURING THE VISIT OF THEIR GUESTS.

BY FRANCIS AND THERESA PULSZKY

IN TWO VOLUMES

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# PREFACE.

MANY books on America have been published in England—earnest and satirical accounts, serious and flippant narratives, caricatures and sketches, bird's-eye views and finished pictures. Miss Martineau, Silk Buckingham, George Combe, Alexander Mackay, Sir Charles Lyell, have treated in their valuable works the most different phases of American life. Why, then, another book on a subject so often, and in some quarters so ably treated? The question is easily answered. America is growing rapidly, and changes its aspect unceasingly; a short time gives to the States a different appearance, and a picture, true to-day, no longer bears resemblance after a couple of years. And then the Americans are so closely related to the English, as they speak the same language, and live under the same common law, that some of the tourists have been induced to direct their attention, less to the working of the different institutions, than to insignificant discrepancies on the surface of society. A foreigner, strange to both countries, without previous predilection for, or prejudice against either of them, can perhaps be more impartial in his view of the United States, than the son of the mother country, attached to her in manners and customs. These reasons have induced me to "carry an owl to Athens" by publishing these volumes.

The work is, perhaps, not so superfluous as it seems at first sight; as many incorrect notions of American institutions are still prevailing on this side the ocean. A year has hardly elapsed since an English Under-secretary of State for foreign affairs provoked ridicule in the United States by mentioning in Parliament "the delicacy of relations *between the central and provincial* (sic) governments of the United States." In fact, he showed himself unaware that full constitutional remedies are already provided in the States for the inconveniences of which he complained. In the same way the English public has been accustomed to underrate the development of America and the character of her citizens, except in regard to commerce.

The peculiar opportunities which we enjoyed in travelling with Kossuth, "the guest of the nation," afforded us more facility to become acquainted with the policy and society of the new world than is granted to most travellers. We became personally acquainted with nearly all the leading men of the States, and the frankness and communicativeness natural to the American character, allowed us to get a deeper insight, through our friends, into the workings of republican self-government as well as of the party politics.

Mrs. Pulszky kept a regular Diary, the greater part of which has been incorporated with this publication. We did not dwell upon many particulars of American manners and habits, which often strike English travellers. For example: we were not shocked that, at breakfast, the Americans pour their eggs into glasses; we did not inquire whether the orthodoxy of eating lamb with mint sauce, roast beef with Yorkshire pudding, and rhubarb pie with Devonshire cream, has survived the declaration of American independence; we do not know whether "the American attempts at steaks and chops" are ridiculous or not, not being accustomed to attach peculiar importance to the philosophy of the kitchen and

the dining-room, and convinced, by experience, that no nation in the world possesses the monopoly of good cookery. Belonging to an eminently smoking people, the extensive use of the cigar did not hurt my feelings, though I thought that chewing and its consequences were no improvement to the use of the fragrant leaf.

In regard to graver matters, I do not evade any question, though slavery, for instance, is a point on which it is difficult to write without giving offence on one or the other side of the Atlantic. The English are so proud that already nearly a whole score of years back they have ceased to be slave-holders, that they overlook the difficulties with which this question is connected in the Union, whilst the Americans in the south are so touchy in regard to the sovereignty of their States, that they call even the modest publications of a tourist "a foreign intervention into their domestic concerns," and by the very fact excite the resentment of those who feel no sympathy with their "peculiar institution." I give my opinion openly, without seeking to ingratiate myself with any party. In the same way I attempted to describe the large contending political parties and their subdivisions, and the different aspect of society in the four great portions of the Union, faithfully and conscientiously. We met friends amongst all the sections of the United States. I was convinced of the earnestness and sincerity of all the parties, and I give their principles without attempting to decide which of them is more conducive to the weal of the country. As far as I venture to form an opinion, it is, that the extinction of either of these great parties would be a national calamity.

Though I accompanied Kossuth on his journey though the different States of the Union, he is in no way and in no point responsible for any of the views which I take. His views on America have been expressed in his speeches.

The three letters of a New England lady to Mrs. Pulszky, on

American character and education, given in the Appendix, are so valuable sketches of American life, that, with the permission of the writer, we adorn with them our volumes.

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

St. Petersburg Place,
Bayswater, Feb. 1853.

# WHITE, RED, AND BLACK.

## CHAPTER I.

### PASSAGE TO AMERICA.

#### I. DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND.

On the 20th of November, early in the morning, we left London and proceeded to Southampton. About a month had elapsed since Kossuth had landed there, and was received as no other foreigner ever has been received in England. A short month had won golden opinions for him all over the country. In spite of the increasing hostility of the most influential organ of the press, he had found many a hearty friend of his cause, and many an enthusiastic admirer of his person here, where he sought but a temporary asylum for his children. The power of his eloquence had silenced many of those to whom his openly avowed principles were at least unseasonable, and, though a foreigner, he had the ear of the public. His stay in England was an uninterrupted triumph unexpected to him; in our selfish prosaic age, it seemed like a tale of the 'Arabian Nights.' His friends in Southampton—for they had become his friends during the short time of his stay amongst them—wished to give him as cordial a farewell as the welcome had been splendid; they were assembled at the railway terminus, and we were greeted with deafening cheers. Mr.

Andrews was here, the frank and open-hearted Mayor of Southampton, a "self-made" man, and a living evidence that, even in the Old World, honest industry can raise an enterprising character from the rank of a daily labourer to a highly-respected public and political station. He was accompanied by Mr. Deacon, the accomplished town-clerk, who knows how to enjoy wisely what he has earned honorably. After an elegant luncheon in the house of the Consul of the United States, Mr. Rodney Croskey, an American gentleman, whose acute Yankee judiciousness, matured by long European experience, make him fit for a far more important station in the service of his country, we went to the pier, followed by thousands of the people who had turned out with flying banners to catch a glimpse of the Hungarian chief. They pressed around us to shake his hands once more, and when we reached the Jupiter, the splendid steam-boat of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, they bade us farewell, with three times three, whilst the Jupiter hoisted the Hungarian colours, greeted by a royal salute from the guns of Southampton. The Jupiter went slowly down the Southampton Waters towards Cowes, there to meet the Humboldt, which was to carry us to the United States. A farewell banquet followed in the saloon, and speeches were made, toasts drunk, and cheers uttered, whilst the band on deck played polkas and waltzes, and dancing went on until dusk, when our Southampton friends took leave. A second steamer carried us to Cowes; it was night when we reached the port, but the Humboldt was not yet in sight. A little tired by the entertainment, we rested for a while in an hotel, accompanied by Lord Dudley Stuart, the friend of the oppressed, the advocate of the balance of power,—a theory which is still recognised necessary for the maintenance of peace by every English statesman, but when infringed, is never maintained by any one of them. Our rest did not last

long, as it had transpired that Kossuth was in the town, and a crowd surrounded the hotel with loud cheers. The report of a gun announced now the approach of the Humboldt, which soon appeared in the darkness like a fire-vomiting dragon. Some minutes more, and we were on board.

The Humboldt is an excellent specimen of those floating palaces, which make the communication with America so easy and comfortable, that materially the Atlantic has become a safe highroad between the two great countries, whilst, morally, the interests of both have grown indissoluble. A mere fortnight's trip carries you to the United States, a country whose institutions are based on principles altogether different from those which we are accustomed to see operating in the Old World: you do not spend more time for this excursion than the Pythagorases and Lycurguses, the Solons and Herodotuses, when they sailed from new Greece to ancient Egypt. Greece then, not yet embellished by arts, developing the resources of her unparalleled geographical position with all the vigour and arrogance of a youth proud of his future, despised the rigid forms of old Egypt, and the experience gathered there for thousands of years; but her sages seeking information, still visited the land of the Nile, whose theocratical and monarchical spirit, and those colossal monuments of art, pervaded by the same spirit, remained for them an unsolved but admired riddle. The Egyptian priest smiled at the inquisitiveness of the Greek mind; he declared openly to Solon, that the Greeks are really but children,—and, infatuated by the traditionary wisdom of his forefathers, he neglected to study the new development of the human mind in Greece. He clung too tightly to those ancient forms, from which the spirit was already beginning to depart; his political independence once broken by the Persians, his refined *civilisation*, and his energetical nationality

was corroded by the Greek and Roman genius, which could not assimilate with the Egyptian institutions: it perished without even giving to the world the example of a patriotic struggle against the fate. They were dead and mummified long before they were swept away.—It is a lesson which old Europe should remember.

## II. DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS.

A winter passage to America is a most unpleasant expedition; the cold prevents you from remaining on deck, and the gales and rains, so frequent in November and December, produce very soon their natural consequence, seasickness, among the passengers. Of all our party there were only Mr. Lemmi, Colonel Ihasz, and myself, who did not suffer. Of course we had to comfort and to amuse our friends, though we also felt a little uneasy, and were at least not fit for any serious occupation. We spent our leisure as pleasantly as might be, in playing chess, talking politics, and musing. I examined the ship's library in the saloon, and found here Bancroft's most excellent and very popular History of North America. He has again directed our attention to the expedition of De Soto, and his discovery of the Mississippi Valley, which was not less adventurous than that of Cortes. He impartially acknowledges the merits of Marquette, La Salle, and the French Jesuits: why is it then that he neglects altogether the illustrious names of those Northmen who, long before Columbus, had settled in Greenland, and sent their trading and exploring expeditions into the present territory of the United States? The history of those early discoveries is even more interesting than the adventures of De Soto, or of La Salle; they vie in romantic interest with those of Columbus;

but, whilst the name of the great Genoese is known all over the world, Erik the Red and his children are forgotten, even by those who do not dare to doubt the fact of the early discovery of America by the Northmen, because they have seen it affirmed in Humboldt's Cosmus, or Cantu's History.

Englishmen may say that the discovery of Greenland and the Western continent by the Northmen has left no permanent results on the world, and, alas! we are all too apt to measure men and facts by the ultimate result only; for an American, however, the colonisation of Greenland, and the discovery of New England has also a patriotic interest; and, besides, it remains a question to be decided, whether the traditions of the Northmen had not a considerable influence on Columbus; in every case they strengthened his belief in the possibility of finding a Western country, though he took it for the Eastern shore of the Indies and China. There is also another remarkable interest attached to the track of the bold seafarers of Norway. The submarine telegraphs laid down between the shores of England and France, and of Scotland and Ireland, are thought by many the precursors of a great line between Europe and America, though to convey and lay down a wire and cable three thousand miles long seems to be impossible. But the difficulties are greatly diminished, if the telegraph is to be carried—as it has already been suggested—from the Orkneys first to the Faroes, then to Iceland, so on to Greenland, and from Cape Farewell, across Baffin's Bay, to Labrador and the United States. In this direction the greatest distance from shore to shore would be shortened to five hundred miles. And this is precisely the line pursued by the Northmen; the easiest way to the Western continent.

One of those Norwegian adventurers, who, half-pirates, half-merchants, so often visited the north of England,

Scotland, and Ireland, for purposes either of trade or plunder, discovered Iceland in the ninth century. Norwegian chiefs and freemen, fleeing from the oppression of King Harold Harfager, colonised the snowy island. Erik the Red, when banished from Iceland for manslaughter, sailed farther west, and came upon Greenland, towards the end of the tenth century. Many friends accompanied and followed him thither, whilst one of them, Biarni, was carried in a south-westerly direction, towards New England; but, from his anxiety to arrive in Greenland, he did not land on the shore which he saw. Leif, the son of Erik, immediately perceived the importance of the new discovery, fitted out an expedition, and proceeded first to Newfoundland, then to Nova Scotia, and, at last, to the coasts of New England. He remained there during winter, and returned with a cargo of grapes and timber. For seafarers, in a woodless country, this latter was of invaluable importance, and, therefore, several members of Leif's family explored successively the newly-discovered countries, especially Markland, the country of wood (Nova Scotia), and Vinland, the wine land (New England), in order to settle upon them. But the hostility of the aborigines, and the difficulties of the passage—several ships having been carried away by storms into the ocean—impeded their lasting colonisation of the Western continent. Separated by a dangerous sea from the mainland, Greenland could not become for America, what the Highland of Tartary had been for Asia. The new country was visited by trading parties only.

The annals of Iceland mention, as late as 1121, that Bishop Erik of Greenland sailed from thence to Vinland; the priests Adalbrand and Thorwald visited Helluland in 1285, and called it Nyja Funda Land (New Found Land); the Norwegian King Erik the Priest-hater despatched Landa-Rolf, in 1289-90, to find out this country; and, in

1347, a Greenland ship is mentioned again, which had been on a trading voyage to Markland.

The personal adventures of the early discoverers of America before Columbus are recorded at length in one of the most beautiful works of penmanship in Iceland, written between 1387 and 1395, the celebrated 'Codex Flatoiensis,' preserved now in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; and it is a well-known fact, that Columbus, in 1477, visited Iceland, where the traditions about Vinland were yet alive, though all connection with the colony of Greenland had ceased. The last bishop of Greenland was appointed in 1406. Since that time the colony has never been heard of, though it consisted then of 280 settlements. Queen Margaret, on whom the three Northern crowns had devolved in 1387, had made the trade to Greenland and Iceland a royal monopoly, which could only be carried on in ships belonging to the sovereign, or licensed by him, and certain merchants, who had visited Greenland, were accused of treason, and only escaped punishment by pleading that stress of weather had driven them to those parts. Under the monopoly the Icelanders could have no vessels, and no object for sailing to Greenland, and the colony gradually fell into oblivion. When, in 1721, the Norwegian clergyman, Hans Egede, resigned his living in Norway, and obtained permission, after many difficulties and petitions to government, to settle as a missionary among the Esquimaux in Greenland, he found no traces of the missing colony; it had perished altogether. At a later time, ruins of great churches, and tombstones with old inscriptions, were found in different places, but no record has been preserved mentioning the way in which those flourishing settlements had been broken up. Mystery hangs over their fate.

The Northmen were undoubtedly the first discoverers and first white settlers of America; but long before them,

the old Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans had a vague tradition about a great Western country across the ocean—the mythical Atlantis. It is not less interesting to see that the Chinese, too, had similar traditions about the East land, *Foo-sung*, and that the site of America is noticed on their ancient maps, though not as a mainland, but as a group of large islands. The East as well as the West had a dim presentiment of the existence of a New World,—of a continent different from the Old one. The Irish traditions of *Ireland the Great*, in the west; and the Welsh chronicle of Prince Madoc, son of Owen Gwynned, who left Wales towards the end of the twelfth century, disgusted with her feuds, and having discovered a fertile country in the west, put again to sea with ten ships, and was never more heard of,—form a new link to the evidences showing that a Western continent was dreamt of long before Columbus.

Not only the Northmen but the Germans, too, claim their share in the discovery of the new Continent, and vindicate the merits of their countryman, Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg. He was a distinguished astronomer, of the school of John Regiomontanus, and one of the boldest seafarers of the fifteenth century. By introducing the use of the astrolabe, he gave to the navigators the possibility of taking the latitude, and ascertaining more precisely the direction of sailing; in the service of King John the Second of Portugal, he discovered the coast of Congo in Africa, and founded settlements on the Azores. Knighted by his master, he married the daughter of Don Job de Huerta, the governor of Fayal, where he remained for several years. On one of his expeditions, in 1483, ten years before the journey of Columbus, gales and eastern winds drove him from the Azores to the coasts of Brazils—the Prajas of Pernambuco. He thought the Southern continent a large island, and took possession of it for the crown of Portugal. Unaware of the importance of his discovery,

he did not pursue it, but on the celebrated globe which he made in 1491, and which is preserved until now in the Library of Nuremberg, he recorded it, though he took the Brazils for an island belonging to the East Indies, as at this time the shores of India and China were thought to extend much farther east than they really do, and Columbus himself believed his own discovery in the Caribbean Sea to be a part of India. The great Genoese, who had come as far north as Iceland, in order to get information about the Western hemisphere, had visited also Behaim at Madeira; he became his friend, and the German seafarer communicated his maps and experience to his Italian comrade. For this reason, French, German, and Portuguese historians call Behaim the discoverer of America, though Columbus, after having collected all the traditions and all the theoretical and practical evidences of the existence of a Western country, was the first who had the courage and the endurance to *seek* those shores, which others had seen by chance, and to turn them into account for himself and his master. When afterwards his name became more celebrated, his detractors remembered all the ancient traditions and recent fortuitous discoveries, and found that the merits of the Genoese were but small; but Columbus did not claim a greater share of renown than really was due to him. The anecdote of the egg shows clearly that he claimed only the merit of having been the first who did intentionally what others might have done, had they had his powers of combining and his perseverance; the premises were known to everybody, he was the first to draw the conclusion. But in every case Behaim deserves to be remembered with Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco de Gama, with Columbus and Magellan, with Cabot and Cabral. He was the first who, in the Pyrenean Peninsula, diffused the knowledge about the real spherical form of the earth, who by improvements in taking the

latitude, made long navigations possible across the ocean, and who, by his own expeditions, showed to the bold adventurers how much they may risk, and how much there remains to discover.

## III. THE AMERICANS IN EUROPE.

The passengers on board of the Humboldt presented a most varied assembly. The majority were Americans returning home; there was besides a Mexican Commodore, who had lost his left arm in one of the battles of the Republic, I think before Vera Cruz; an old German resident of Havanna, who had become a thorough Cuban, losing his temper regularly as often as the expedition of Lopez was mentioned, several Frenchmen engaged in business, several German emigrants, and Lola Montes.

Though sea-sickness prevailed almost all the time of the passage, principally amongst the ladies, and the social intercourse was very limited, yet I had leisure and occasion to begin my studies of American character. I found amongst my fellow-passengers a very intelligent, sharp merchant from western New York, well acquainted with European and American politics, who, at my request, endeavoured to explain to me the dovetailed state of parties in the United States, which I was shortly to witness myself. He was a sound American patriot, but the strong party feeling, which characterises his countrymen in the States, was somewhat smoothed down by a longer residence in Europe. His stay in the old country had evidently had its good effect upon him. He was proud of being a republican, as all Americans are; but as he was a merchant who had visited Europe on business, he had no cravings to be introduced to the courts of the continent, and to the fashionable circles of the West End: he had

therefore no reason to atone for his native republicanism by servile admiration of despotism abroad, and by the fashionable abuse of every republican feeling on the continent of Europe.

It is certainly striking, though easy to explain, that the majority of Americans who cross the Atlantic make themselves prominent in Europe by advocating oppression and absolutism, and abominating everything analogous to their own institutions. Of course they are not fair specimens of the American character, and it would be very unjust to judge the citizens of the United States by the great bulk of the samples coming to Europe. Those who travel for pleasure are nearly all inhabitants of the large commercial cities, and of the sea coast States, more or less connected by business with the conservative Stock Exchanges of London and Paris. With the natural inquisitiveness of their country they wish to see in Europe such things as they cannot see in America. The taste for fine arts is not yet enough developed in the States, to give those tourists a lasting pleasure in the galleries and museums of the Old World; and besides, their time is always too much limited to enjoy the works of art as we do; a cursory view of the monuments being always tiresome, even for those who have learnt how to see them. The intercourse with the people, the study of the working of European institutions on the masses, requires yet more leisure, and a more philosophical and serious turn of mind than suits with a short pleasure trip, even for those who are ardent politicians in America, but who have left their country for relaxation, and to get rid for a time of politics. But one source for gathering information is always open to them, and it has irresistible charms for every American on account of its novelty—this is, European society. To be introduced to a lord, to be invited to a ball at the Tuileries, to be presented at a court, should it be even the court of

Prince Reuss Schleiz, or Lippe Detmold,—no matter, it is an attraction greater yet for a travelling Yankee than even for an English correspondent of 'The Times.' To obtain this aim, he gives up, not only his open democratic frankness, but even his republican pride. Fitted out by the first Parisian tailor, studying easy manners at the Jardin Mabille, learning continental politics from the weathercocks of the 'Party of Order' and the 'Journal des Debats,' he creeps into society, flattering the principles of violence and oppression; unaware that the same society would have admitted him with more regard, had he come as an upright republican, who does not obtrude his principles of liberty, but whose demeanour itself is a living evidence of the soundness of American institutions.

We have seen American travellers at the Sorbonne, hastening to the professor's chair, in order to shake hands with Michel Chevalier, amidst the hisses of the French audience, when this ex-Saint Simonist and ex-councillor of state called the February revolution, and the establishment of a republic in France, a disastrous event; and we have heard others admiring the Russian institutions for the preservation of order and security, because the driver of the tourist was flogged without any inquest and trial by a government official, upon the simple statement of the American gentleman, that his carriage was upset by the carelessness of the driver; but, on the other side, we have occasionally made the acquaintance of several Americans in Europe who did not belong to this class. I cannot refrain from mentioning here an anecdote, which shows how republican pride can be combined with courtesy. An American traveller, in St. Petersburgh, went out on foot in March, when the snow was melting after a sudden rain. The streets presented the aspect of extensive puddles, separated at the crossings by a ridge of more solid snow, over which the foot passengers worked their toilsome way.

The American was just in the midst of such a snowbridge, when he suddenly recognised the Grand Duke Constantine, in plain clothes, followed by his aide-de-camp, coming from the opposite side. The foot-path between the two puddles was not broad enough to let two persons pass by, and Mr. * * * did not wish either to turn his back uncourteously to the prince by returning from whence he came, nor to step servilely into the water; he therefore, pulling out his purse, presented it to the Grand Duke, and asked: "Odd or even?" "Even," answered the astonished prince. "You are right, Imperial Highness, I have lost, and must give way," said the American, and stept into the water. The prince was highly pleased by this proceeding, and the American received on the next day an invitation to dine with the Emperor.

## IV. ESCAPE OF MADAME KOSSUTH.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

To shorten the tedious time of the passage we often went to Kossuth's cabin, and spoke of our adventures since we had lost sight of one another. He stretched himself on the upper berth, Madame Kossuth lay on the sofa, both suffering much from the sea; we sat on the floor, and, in the remembrance of bygone times, we endeavoured to make them forget the discomforts of the present. Kossuth and my husband then occasionally left us, to play at chess in the saloon, or to smoke a cigar on deck, but Madame Kossuth was unable to rise; I remained with her, and our hopes and past toils were the topic of our conversation. We had much to tell one another, for in London, in the whirl of excitement, we had scarcely found leisure for a quiet talk. I requested her to relate to us the story of her escape through Hungary. I knew only that she had been

for months in the country without being discovered, yet unable to join her children, who soon were found out, and thrown into prison. I endeavoured to retain all the details in my memory, and I give her words now from recollection, with slight alterations, still necessary, that the friends who assisted her may not be exposed to the annoyances of the Austrian police, or perhaps to more fatal consequences.

"The last days in Arad," she said, "were harassing for me beyond description. Dembinski, with the faithful army, had gone towards Temesvár, instead of proceeding to Arad; Görgey, our personal enemy, had arrived in his stead. The brilliant army of the Upper Danube,—the victors of Isaszeg, who had sung patriotic hymns whilst they stormed the walls of Buda, were disorganised and dispirited. Görgey, and his former brother officers of the Austrian army, had done their work admirably, decrying the civil government, incessantly exposing the best battalions without support to the attack of the enemy, and sending away those officers who faithfully obeyed the orders of the government.

"The enemy drew nearer. On the 10th of August the order was given to attack him. I heard every cannon-shot during three painful hours. How I rejoiced when the reports grew fainter!—a sign that we were advancing; but again they got stronger and stronger; General Nagy-Sándor was evidently repulsed; and now again, as formerly at Debreczin, Görgey had not supported him. Ministerial councils were held late in the evening; Görgey came and remained for a long time closeted with my husband. A vague report spread that a pitched battle had been fought at Temesvár. It was said that our troops were advancing there, whilst in our immediate neighbourhood the enemy approached the fortress. The ministers who went to the council seemed downcast; Görgey sullen and reserved as

ever. At midnight Lajos* retired to the bed-room quite exhausted. I feared his frame could not stand it; he had hardly had any sleep for the last fortnight. I therefore requested his aide-de-camp, Colonel Asboth, not to wake him, whatever might happen, at least for four hours. But scarcely were we asleep, when we were aroused by loud knocks; a dispatch had arrived, that the battle of Temesvár was lost, the army annihilated, Bem mortally wounded! It was a sad exaggeration, but who could know that? It was an official dispatch.

"We were now in the power of Görgey. He had already refused to obey the orders of the government; there was now no possibility of avoiding his dictatorship. Vukovics, Csányi, Aulich, and Bishop Horváth had declared that this step might save the country; and Szemere† was as much an enemy as Görgey himself.

"Next day Lajos departed; I could not accompany him. The children were hidden in the country; I had to join them, and to send them, if possible, to London, before I could follow him. I stood at the window when he drove away, and fell to the floor with a shriek as I saw the carriage had passed the gate. My maid and the sentinel gave an alarm; the officers and their ladies rushed to the room, and endeavoured to soothe me. They were full of bright hopes. Some said, the army is to retire to Peterwardein, drawing together the scattered corps, and to renew the struggle in conjunction with the garrison of Komorn, in the rear of the enemy; others were sure that Görgey had previously made an honourable treaty with the Russians, and had secured the rights of the country by the guarantee of the Czar, and that his dictatorship, which was just proclaimed, allowed him now officially to enact what had been

* Lajos is the Hungarian form for *Louis*.

† These five, with Duschek, then absent, and Count Casimir Batthyany, made up the responsible government of the Governor.

previously arranged. At Világos the formalities were to be accomplished, and they were only sorry that 'the Governor' would not be present on the occasion to direct the negotiations. I was anxious to witness myself what would happen, though I was fully convinced that Görgey was a traitor. I knew that he hated my husband personally, and I had no belief in his patriotism. With a carpet-bag in my hand, and without communicating my intention to any one, but our faithful * * *, who accompanied me, we drove towards evening to Világos, where we found the hotel overcrowded. Nobody recognised me; I with difficulty got a miserable room, where the door was not even secured by a latch. I passed all the night in agitation, sitting on a chair, feverish, nearly delirious.

"In the morning, my brother, the Colonel, found me out. I implored him to flee, as Görgey would betray the country and his brother officers; but he treated my fears slightly—he trusted his commander. When my brother had left me, I heard well-known voices in the passage. Bonis, Iozipovics, and Vukovics were consulting about what Görgey was likely to do; and whether they should wait till the mystery cleared up, or whether they should flee. They were inclined, though not fully decided, to take the latter course. I rushed to the door, to advise them to follow their impulse, forgetting that my own safety required it should not be known that I was present; but when I stepped out, the gentlemen stared at me as at a stranger, the last two days had so much altered me.

"I went out in the course of the afternoon, and heard that the army was to surrender, and the Hussars were in despair. I saw an artillery-man, who wept bitterly. The officers were still full of hope; but for me there was no mystery any more—my worst fears had been realised.

"I set out to the country seat of my friends * * *. When I arrived on the next day, guests were at the din-

ner-table; none of them, except two of the family, recognised me. These told me that my mother-in-law had fallen dangerously ill in the neighborhood; but when I drove thither I did not find her. Sick in body and mind, I entreated our faithful * * * to proceed without me to the children, and to prepare everything for their escape to England. He departed in tears. My strength broke down; a violent fever seized me, I became delirious. My friends sent for a physician, who, from the ravings I incessantly uttered, soon knew who I was; but, as an honest man, he did not betray me. In a few days I got a little better. Everybody spoke with gloomy forebodings of the future. Some prisoners of war had been shot; and the generals and staff-officers, previously treated with all military honours by the Russians, were now conveyed to the fortress of Arad.

"One morning I perceived an uncommon movement in the house; my kind friend rushed into my room, 'Here they are!' she cried. From below I heard confused noise and cries, interrupted by the report of muskets. I jumped from my bed, dressed hastily, and ran down to the court-yard; here every thing was in the greatest confusion. People ran to and fro, perplexed what to do, and when I enquired what had happened, they said the wild Wallack mountaineers were approaching, burning the villages, and murdering women and children, now that they knew the Hungarians had been subdued by the Russians and Austrians. Already on the previous day we had heard, that they had plundered the country seat of an Austro-Hungarian, but at considerable distance from us; and now it was said 'they are here.'

"A Honvéd officer, a relative of my friend's, who had found shelter under their roof, was the only person who had not lost his presence of mind. He quickly put horses to a light peasant-cart, lifted me on the straw seat, got a

warm cloak and threw it over my shoulders. Ellen, the companion of my friend, sat down by me, to take care of me on the flight, for I was exhausted by the fever, and we were just starting when my friend ran frantically after us, with her little son in her arms. 'Take him with you,' she screamed; 'save him!' But when the child was in my lap, she again cried, 'I cannot part from him, let us perish together,' snatched him from the cart, and pressed him violently to her bosom. Whilst she was quite lost in her despair, the officer drove off. Where to we did not know: to get away was our only aim. We went on, till late in the evening, with tired horses, we reached a lonely inn; but we were not admitted there: terror and distrust were spread everywhere. The officer had to threaten the innkeeper with violence, if he refused to give shelter to a dying woman, who was fleeing from the Wallacks, before the door was opened. They carried me to the room, and put me on the bed. The innkeeper's family was rough and sullen, and stared stupidly at us: they did not like us as guests. A few hours had scarcely elapsed, when again an alarm was given that the Wallacks were approaching. The publican began to pack up his furniture, and drew the bed-clothes from under me, in order to hide it, and left me on the bare straw. My glance fell on the opposite wall, and the well-known portrait of my husband, with his mild countenance, looked down upon me. I remembered the time when this lithography had been made; and when I contrasted it with my wretched condition, a laughter cramp seized me. Ellen and the officer carried me to the cart; I was unable to walk.

"We drove on, but every place and every inn were filled with Austrian and Russian soldiers; there was no safety anywhere. At last we stopped in a village, for I could not be conveyed further. The officer knew that a poor surgeon lived here, and he drove straight to his house. It

was a mere thatched peasant house; the study in front, the bedroom in the rear, separated by the kitchen. Without further asking, the officer lifted me from the cart, carried me to the bed-room, and put me on the bed of the surgeon, who was engaged in his study with some patients, unaware of what was going on in the other part of his abode. Four wooden chairs, a rickety table, and a poor bed, were his only furniture. I was scarcely on the bed when the surgeon entered, and to his astonishment and dismay, found us established in his room. Surprised and impatient, he exclaimed, 'How did you dare to put this woman on my bed? she is dying!' But the officer calmly and sternly replied, 'If you touch a hair of this lady, you are a dead man. She is my sister-in-law, fleeing from the Wallacks.' The surgeon was struck, and surmised that the company might be different from what it appeared. He sat down by the bed; I was delirious. Hearing the words I uttered, he exclaimed, 'Who can this lady be?' Ellen, fearing he might find it out himself, said, 'She is the wife of one of the ministers, who is now trying to escape the Austrians.' 'If only the Governor is safe!' replied he. 'They say he is in Turkey; where is his wife? orders are given to seize her and her children;' and he went on deploring our fate. I did not hear all this; Ellen told it to me afterwards, when, under the care of the good surgeon, I began to recover. He treated me with the utmost attention. Ellen thanked him often, and told him that we were not so poor as we looked, and would remunerate him with pleasure. But he declined any fee; he said he was a poor man, but a lady in such circumstances had likely more need of her money than he.

"In a few days, my host from * * * arrived, to take me back to his country-seat, as the alarm of the Wallack invasion had proved without foundation. The country was quiet; the savage hordes had been repulsed by the Russians, who no longer needed such allies.

"When Mr. * * * saw the state of my health, he thought it impossible to remove me; but once more I roused my energies, and overcame the feebleness of my frame. I rose, and in the evening I was ready to start. The surgeon entreated me not to leave yet, but to stay some days longer; but I expected tidings from my husband, my children, and my mother-in-law, so I could not remain. The poor surgeon shed tears when we left, and blessed me; he refused all remuneration. I had to put the fee, without his knowledge, into the book which lay on his table.

"My host himself drove the open carriage, in which he had come to take us. The rain poured in torrents all the night until morning, when we arrived at the castle drenched to the skin, and I again felt very ill. I was confined to my bed, but my chamber was near enough to the drawing-room to allow me, occasionally, to hear the conversation. The third day after my arrival, a gentleman came and related, amongst other news, that Kossuth's children had been found out by the Austrians, and had been imprisoned on the very day of St. Louis. 'Kossuth's mother and sister are also imprisoned,' continued he. He spoke so loud that I heard every word. I could not suppress a scream; but, fortunately, the visitor was so deeply immersed in conversation, that he did not hear it. It was a dreadful moment. No tidings from Lajos, and of the children, such terrible news! My kind hostess had noticed my distressing cry,—she endeavoured, in vain, to comfort me. Soon afterwards another guest arrived,—not one of the patriots,—yet he related with disgust, that the Austrian General, Schlick, had issued a proclamation, threatening everybody, who should give shelter to the wife of Kossuth, with confiscation of goods, and trial by court-martial. These words, too, reached my ears, and I heard, likewise, that a price of 20,000 florins was put on my head. I was determined not to endanger my friends any longer, and when they

came to my room, I declared that I felt strong enough to proceed farther. They requested me to remain, but I could not accept their self-sacrificing generosity: I did not listen to their entreaties, or to their remonstrance, that my health could not stand the fatigue of a long journey. At last they yielded to my firm resolution, and I drove away, with Ellen, to the house of a lady with whom I was aequainted. When I arrived, she told me that this part of the country was unsafe, and that but a few days before a superior officer had been arrested in the neighbourhood. But she offered herself to accompany me to her brother-in-law. We set out; again we found every inn crowded by Austrian soldiers; we could not venture to go in, but remained in the carriage. Our horses were fed in a by-street, close to the house of the parson, who noticed us, and came out and offered us a plate of soup. He enquired for news, whether we had not heard anything about the Governor. 'I every day pray for his safety,' said he; 'Oh! that his wife were only with him! what will be her fate if they catch her? they treat his children cruelly.' I began to weep. He kindly asked what ailed me? I answered that I had known the family.

"Having taken some soup, we drove on. In the evening we arrived at my companion's brother-in-law, a rough country gentleman, who was first angry with Mrs. * * * for bringing unknown persons as guests, in such critical times. But when he saw me, he immediately gave orders to provide for my accommodation. He sent everything we required to our room; yet he studiously avoided us. He probably had recognised me. I saw that my presence frightened every one who knew me. Next morning, therefore, I requested Mrs. * * * not to accompany me any farther. I would not constantly expose my friends to danger. I was unwilling to go too far from * * * whereto alone Lajos could send me tidings; I therefore made up my mind

to travel with Ellen, assuming the part as having been of late hospital nurses, sisters of a Honved officer. My intention was, to avoid the country seats of those whom I personally knew, and to live amongst the peasantry. And so we did; we found a home amongst the lowly. Miss Mary and her sister, the hospital nurses, were well received by the peasants, and were safe in the cottages of the poor. But, on the other hand, the difficulty increased, to get reliable information about anything going on at home and abroad.

"Often, when we stayed in a village, the peasant women came and said to me, 'My dove, you surely are ill; let me cook some soup for you. You look so pale!' And when they heard that I was the sister of a Honved officer, they asked me whether I knew nothing of their master, Kossuth,—God bless him! they had hidden his bank notes, they knew they would be of value again. Such scenes comforted me.

"Once we arrived in one of the large Hungarian villages on a market-day. Peasants from all parts of the country were there, to sell their produce. But the general talk amongst them was, less of the prices, than about Kossuth,—Where is he?—and that he was coming back with a Turkish army,—that he was treated by the Turks, with all the honors due to a sovereign,—and that he has become the ally of the Sultan. They did not hesitate freely to utter his name, proscribed in the castles of the gentry by distrust, and fear of the Austrian police.

"When going to * * * I was very nearly recognized. Sitting on a peasant cart with Ellen, drawn by two jades, clad in a cotton dress, my head wrapt up in a blue handkerchief, I little thought that my appearance could rouse suspicion. It was not far from the fortress of Arad, a regiment of cuirassiers came along the road; and we had to stop whilst they passed. A gentleman of the neighbour-

hood, late of the Austrian army, who had married a Hungarian heiress, was cantering up the way, to meet his former brother-officers. He passed our cart, without noticing us; but when with the gay company of the Austrians he again approached us, one of them pointed to me. He rode up close to us, and stared in my face. I assumed as stupid a countenance as ever I could, and, as he turned his horse, I heard him say, 'peasant women; nothing else.' Arrived in the neighbouring place, I sent to Arad for news, how the prisoners were treated? where Lajos was? I got the answer, that my two sons were handed over to the Jesuits, my daughter to the nuns;* that the generals were under trial by court-martial; that Austria and Russia insisted on the extradition of the refugees in Turkey; that the Sultan was undecided what course to pursue, and kept them in prison. But all these were vague rumours; nobody knew how far they could be trusted.

"I saw that I was not safe here, and therefore I took a northerly direction. But wherever I came, I found Austrian soldiers billeted in the houses of the peasants. We arrived at * * *, a large village. Night was approaching; the horses were tired; it was cold; I could not obtain any shelter, and I began to weep. A peasant saw it, and asked what ailed me?

"'I do not know where to go for this night.'

"'I would take you to my house, but it is too far. I pity you very much,' said the peasant; 'but the upholsterer here has a spare room; it is not yet entirely arranged, yet it is better than nothing.'

"We accepted the advice; and we found the upholsterer and his wife such a kind-hearted, industrious, though very poor couple, that I immediately determined to stay with them. When we told them that we wished to hire their spare room, and to remain in their house some time,

* This proved *untrue; they* were in prison at Presburg.

and had concluded the bargain, they offered us food gratuitously, thinking that we must be badly off to hire such a wretched room. Not to rouse their suspicion, I promised them a very trifling remuneration, saying that we had money left. But I did not dare to buy better furniture for my room; I only requested them to get us, if possible, a Vienna newspaper in the village; 'because,' said I, 'I have a brother with the refugees in Turkey, and I would like to know what has become of them all.' In a few days they brought me the 'Ostdeutsche Post,' but not of the last date. I hastily glanced over it, and read in the correspondence from Widdin, that the refugee-question was settled; they were to be given up; and the Austrian General, Haustab, had already gone to escort them back. I became nearly mad, and wrote to my friends in * * * that if the prisoners were coming, they should send me notice without delay, that I might join my husband to die with him. My poor hostess saw my distress, and, full of commiseration, said that she never again would get me a newspaper, as it was very bad for me. Yet at the same time rumours were afloat, that the Sultan had refused to give up the Hungarians, and so I remained in an agony of fear and hope for a whole week. It was the most painful time of my life.

"I again got papers; I looked first for the news from Turkey, and it tranquillized me a little; but when I glanced at the correspondence from Pesth, I saw that Count Louis Batthyàny had been executed. I swooned when I read this. It then struck my hosts that I might perhaps be Countess Batthyàny; and from this day they made a fire in my stove, though they denied themselves this luxury.*

* In the treeless plains of Lower Hungary wood is expensive. The poorer classes burn straw; but even this is not cheap, on account of the great masses required to produce a comfortable fire. It is to be observed, that usually the winter here is mild.

"On the next market-day, knowing how poor they were, I sent Ellen to buy three cart-loads of straw. When they were brought to the upholsterer, he came to me and asked who had bought it? I said, 'I had done it.' 'Goodness me!' he exclaimed, 'are you so rich, Miss Mary, that you can spare so much money?' When he had left me, I heard him talk with his wife, that I must be a great lady; and they no longer allowed their journeymen to go into the kitchen when I was there.

"In the evening my landlord and his wife used to come to my room for a talk. He smoked his short pipe, and enquired if I did not know 'where their good *master* Kossuth was?' 'Had he only never trusted to a gentleman,'—said he—'had he only thrown himself entirely on the people,—we would have stood by him to the last! Had he only left his children with a peasant, they would not be in prison; but the gentry have betrayed him and his children!"

"Forgetting where I was, I said, 'really the people are good, and have noble hearts. If I succeed to get away, and God afterwards bring us back again, I will richly return your kindness, and I will furnish your whole house.' The pipe dropt from the mouth of my host, and his wife rose and exclaimed, 'Dear me! who is it before whom I stand! Miss Mary!—it is impossible that you should be Miss Mary!'

"I saw my mistake, and told them that my brother had, in the last event, rendered great service to Kossuth, who surely would do everything for him.

"After this day they did not quite believe me. They treated me with much more respect, and their journeymen made me a present of a footstool. Soon after I saw by the papers that there was no longer any danger that Lajos should be given up: they even said, that he was on his way to London. But I had as yet no letter from him, and no tidings from my children.

"My kind friend from * * * visited me and said, 'that he had heard a gentleman had arrived from Widdin with letters for me, and that on the morrow, he would be at the country seat of Mr. * * *.' I immediately ordered a cart to proceed thither. My friend cautioned me not to go, as this might be an Austrian trap, and the gentleman from Widdin an Austrian spy. But I was determined to risk auything to obtain certain information.

"The weather was so bad, that I had great difficulty to get a driver. I paid my lodgings, took leave of my good hosts; told them that, in case I did not return, they should keep the things left in my room as remembrance, and I went.

The driver was in bad humour. He grumbled what a folly it was to travel in such weather! and then he cursed the Austrians for the new taxes, and began to talk politics. He said to me, 'we will not obey the king; for he is no king; he is only a German Emperor: He has no right to command in Hungary. He is not even crowned, and therefore he is a usurper.'

"'But, Sir,' said I—'if they find the crown, and crown him regularly, what will you do then?' He paused a moment. 'Then the lightning of heaven shall strike him: we won't obey him:' he angrily replied.

"When I arrived at the village, I sent Ellen to the castle to say, that I was waiting in the hotel. The gentleman of the manor came hastily in great confusion to me and said, that he had not admitted the messenger from Widdin; for he distrusted him. He reproached me that I ventured to come to a place, strongly watched by the Austrians: he asked whether I required money, and entreated me to depart immediately. In fact, Austrians were at his table, and he could not stay one moment longer without rousing suspicions, equally fatal to me and to him.

I wept that my hopes were again defeated; for I had

made up my mind to proceed with the messenger to Widdin; I had to return again to the kind upholsterer.

"My great object was now to send money and tidings to Lajos, because the Austrian papers stated, that he had been robbed in Turkey of all he possessed, and that the refugees there were starving and ill-treated. I knew, moreover, that there was a report spread, perhaps, by my own friends, in order to deceive the Austrian police, that I was dead. I did not wish that such tidings should reach Widdin, and I, therefore, was willing, in case the papers would mention it, to declare, through the press, that I was alive. But how to convey a letter to my husband? To get to him myself, seemed now impossible; I had no chance of obtaining a passport under an assumed name; for my friends would not venture such an application; they were paralysed by fear. I looked for assistance to another quarter.

"I had learnt from Ellen, that the son of the schoolmaster, an educated young man, had become an apprentice at our upholsterer's; I sent for him. He came up stairs whistling, and his cap on his head; he opened my door, but when he beheld me, he turned pale and trembled. He had seen me formerly in Pesth, but had little thought that Miss Mary and I were the same person. He asked for my commands.

"I told him that I wished to send him with a letter to Widdin. He answered, that he could not do it without the consent of his parents; his brother had fallen in battle, and he had promised his bereaved mother, not to go into any dangerous enterprise without her knowledge, but he did hope that she would not deny her consent. Next day he returned, blushing, and declared that he must decline my commission. His mother had knelt down before him, and entreated him to keep clear from politics. For her sake he had given up the career of learning, and had

turned upholsterer; he could not resist her wishes, and felt ashamed that he could not serve me. I did not utter a single word, but I was in despair. I had to wait again.

"One evening we heard heavy steps in the street, a detachment of soldiers was coming, and stopt before the house. Ellen entreated me to flee, as they surely were sent to seize me, but I was too tired to attempt anything for my safety. I said, apathetically, 'go down and open the door: I do not conceal myself.' She went, but in a few moments she returned, laughing. It was a mistake. The soldiers were not seeking me. In the dark, they had taken the house of the upholsterer for the town-house.

"A couple of days after this adventure, there was again a great alarm. In the evening two persons knocked violently at the door, and said aloud, in German, so that I should hear it, 'Does Miss Mary live here? we have a message for her from Turkey.' I rushed to the door, pushing aside the upholsterer, who would not admit them; a lady and gentleman entered, and handed me a letter; it was the handwriting of Lajos. My emotion was so sudden that I could not read, I sobbed violently. I was soon apprised that Lajos was to be detained somewhere in Asia, and I declared that I was ready to follow my new friends to join him. Madame W * * * and Mr. M * * *, who had come from Widdin to take me to Turkey, were utterly unknown to me, and they asked me whether I trusted them, and did not suspect it was the Austrians who had sent them. 'And had all the despots of the world sent you,' answered I, 'you bring me this letter, and I follow you.' I now first learned that another letter had previously arrived, but my friends had burnt it, that it might not induce me to attempt an escape over the nearest Turkish frontier, where the Austrians were keeping strict watch. It was with the greatest unwillingness that they had re-

vealed my hiding-place to the messengers of my husband, so general was their suspicion. Mrs. W * * * told me we had no time to lose; she had a passport for Pesth, and as the last steam-boat was to go thence in a few days down the Danube, if we did not reach Pesth in time the difficulties would become incalculable. I immediately prepared for departure, and next morning, the first of December, we started in a light open carriage for the railway. A snow-storm had beat upon us all the way, and my face became sore from the frost.

"At Szolnok we took seats in a third-class carriage, trembling lest some passenger should recognise me in my disguise. It was the same railway by which we had left Pesth, when Windischgratz was coming, and on which we had returned in triumph from Debreczin!

"We were surrounded by danger. Several Jews, who happened to sit near us, mentioned the name of my husband, and spoke about me; in the first-class carriage I remarked, at the stoppages, several ladies whom I knew. When we arrived at the railway terminus in Pesth, a great crowd was waiting for the train; I held my handkerchief before my face, and Mr. M * * * requested the policeman, to whom he had handed my passport, not to delay us long, as I had a violent toothache. The policeman let us pass; we took a cab, and drove across the Danube to the lodgings of Mrs. W * * *, which she had kept ever since she had set out in search of me, upon her arrival from Turkey. It was a small house; the landlady was cooking in the kitchen, through which we had to go to the room. 'Good morning,' she said to Mrs. W * * *, when we arrived, and when she saw me she turned red, and began to weep, but did not say a word.

"The wife of a tailor across the street had also recognised me. She told Mrs. W* * * that her late brother had appeared to her in a dream, saying, that the lady of the

Governor was at Buda, and that everybody would be punished severely who should betray her; and that she believed in the vision, as her brother had been a pious priest. Mrs. * * * gave her ten florins, with the advice to have a mass read for the repose of her brother, that his soul might not haunt her sleep; and she also reminded her, that in these hard times it was very dangerous to have such dreams.

"Through the kindness and exertions of Mrs. W., I got further opportunity to send a letter to the prison of my children. But, in the meantime, winter set in suddenly. The Danube froze; no steamer could leave Pesth, and we had to go by land, where annoyances and dangers with passports and visitations were unavoidable. With the greatest difficulty I got a passport under an assumed name; my friends were indefatigable, and had left no means untried to get it. At last they succeeded. When we started, our landlady kissed my hand, and said, 'God the Almighty bring you back!' Everywhere on the Theiss, and on the Danube, I found the same feeling amongst the many.

"Through snow and cold, we reached the fortress of Peterwardein, after a tedious journey. We again found the hotel over-crowded, and were shown to the ball-room—the only place unoccupied. It was a large hall, dimly lighted by the tallow candle which the waiter put on the table. The door was not locked, and people occasionally peeped in. I recognized amongst them Count * * *, an Austrian partizan. He seemed to suspect something wrong, and entered the room. Fearing to be recognized, I again complained of violent toothache to M * * *, hiding my face with my handkerchief; and my companions inquired of the Count, whether he did not know a dentist in the town, and began to overwhelm him with so many questions, that he was annoyed and withdrew.

"The next morning we proceeded farther; but scarcely

were we fifteen miles on our way, when some soldiers came up to our carriage and stopt it, 'We have orders to escort you to the nearest magistrate,' said the sergeant; 'you have to give up your passports.' 'Why?' asked M * * *. 'Because you are denounced as travelling under assumed names.' It was a very disagreeable moment, but no choice was left. We arrived in a small borough, and were escorted to the town-house. The sergeant went into the court-hall. We had to wait in the ante-room, but in a very few minutes were summoned before the magistrate. He stood at his desk, in a dignified manner,—a stout, jolly, red-faced German gentleman—with our passports in his hand, and in a solemn way he said:—

"'Ladies and gentlemen, you are accused of travelling under assumed names. This is a serious charge, and I must immediately enter upon the inquest. You had better confess your misdemeanour, as I shall easily ascertain the fact.' After this preamble he turned towards me, and inquired, putting a pair of spectacles on his nose, 'What is your name?'

"'Mary Smith,' I said boldly, with a light curtsey.

"Mary Smith!' he repeated emphatically, and looked into the passport. 'Mary Smith! why, this is really the name of the passport. Where from?'

"'From Pesth.'

"'Where to?'

"'To Semlin.'

"'For what purpose?'

"'To visit friends.'

"After every one of my answers, he again looked into the passport, and said, rather astonished, 'But everything is correct.'

"After Mrs. W * * * and Mr. M * * * had gone through the same process, the magistrate turned to the sergeant, and sternly reproached him for having dared to interfere with

peaceable travellers, whose passports were entirely regular. He turned then towards us, and dismissed us with an apology that he had detained us. The sergeant grumbled and mumbled something about his orders; we bowed and withdrew.

"We soon arrived at Semlin. Across the Danube there lay Belgrad—for us the place of safety; but the difficulty of crossing was increased so much the more by the quarantine regulations, as our passports were good only for Semlin, and not farther.

"M * * *, who travelled in the character of a paper manufacturer, went to the police office, and requested the gentleman there, to grant him permission to visit Belgrad, as he had some business to transact with the printer of the government paper. After some delay the permission was given. M * * * went away, but he returned again to the officer, and said that his sister, and her friend, who travelled with her, would worry him much if he did not take them to the Turkish fortress. They wished very much to buy samples of the celebrated Turkish dried prunes on the spot. It was an affair of but a few hours; they would leave all their luggage at the office, as they were only going just to take a peep at the Turks.*.

"His eloquence carried his object. A quarantine officer was sent with us to the river, to keep an eye upon us; and in high spirits we hired a boat to carry us over to Serbia. But when we put off the Hungarian bank, deep emotion overcame me; it was my country that I was leaving, perhaps for a long time; and I wept.

"'What is the matter?' asked the quarantine-officer. 'She is frightened on the water,' said Mrs. W * * *,

* The *city* of Belgrad is Serbian, the *fortress* Turkish. Serbia is a separate principality, but pays tribute to the Sultan. These Serbs must not be confounded with those of Hungary.

'might we not founder here?' 'Nonsense!' answered he; and laughed at my cowardice.

"At Belgrad M * * * stopt at the first public house, and invited the quarantine-man to take a glass of wine with him; for he felt quite chilly, and the ladies also were hungry. As there was no difficulty to persuade the Austrian, we went in and ordered breakfast. The two gentlemen began to drink; Mrs. W * * * remarked, after a little time, that while they were emptying the bottle, and the breakfast getting ready, we would go across the street to buy shoes. 'Don't stay long,' said M * * *; 'we shall return in a minute,' was the answer: but, once in the street, we hastened to the British Consulate,—and I was safe.

"Mr. Fonblanque, the British Consul, was not in town; but we found out the Sardinian Consul, who congratulated me on my escape. M * * * soon joined us; he had left his companion at the bottle. Shortly after, Mr. Fonblanque arrived, and showed me great kindness during my stay in Serbia.

"I sent a message to the Serb minister, that I expected, from the chivalrous character of his nation, that they would grant me protection, and the orders necessary for travellers, who pass through a country without high-roads, where no conveyance can be found, but by special order of government. The minister was surprised, but soon promised and offered every assistance. I was invited to a country-seat of the prince, to remain there until spring; for, they said, the roads were impracticable in winter; nobody could travel otherwise than on horseback. A winter journey by carriage was unheard of, and in an open sledge it would be dangerous to my health.

"I was detained in this way for a whole week, and I began to fear that I should not be allowed to proceed to my husband. When I complained of the delay, I was

requested to state precisely what I wanted. I replied, 'Nothing, but to be able to join my husband; and if no orders are given to this end, I must consider myself a prisoner, and I will escape, when I can.'

"The aide-de-camp of the Prince came now to me, and told me he would be happy to accompany me on my journey, if I had made up my mind for many toils and difficulties, as a winter journey was unusual for ladies in these parts; but when I refused to stay longer in Serbia as their guest, he begged to be excused, if he could not afford me all the comforts he wished. He handed me a letter of protection from the prince, and said that orders were given along our whole road to receive the lady, escorted by him, as the guest of the prince.

"We set out; the cold was intense, the roads dreadful; the snow impeded our progress; often we heard the howl of wolves in the evening; the sledge was upset; sometimes we could not get horses, and had to go forward with oxen. Occasionally we had to sleep in a stable; as I would not go into the underground, unclean, unventilated huts of the peasants. At other times we found a comfortable shelter in the houses of the lord lieutenants of the counties and the government officials.

"The orders of the prince had roused considerable curiosity along our road; people could not guess who the mysterious lady was, travelling with an English passport, in winter, as the guest of the prince.

"When we arrived at places where accommodation could be found, the gentleman of the manor received us at the gate, in his picturesque national costume. On the threshold we found the lady in the rich Serbian dress; she attended us at dinner in the antique way. When we sat at table, she remained at the door; the meals were brought by the servants to her, and she tendered them to us with the natural dignity and grace peculiar to the East. At

night she came with her maids, who carried the pillows, trimmed with French lace, and the richly embroidered silk blankets, one after the other, were handed to her; she prepared the couch and invited me to rest.

"The aide-de-camp was often asked who I was; but he always met the enquiries with some joke, and evaded the answer. He seemed pleased with the mystery which surrounded us. Once only, in the moment of our departure he told the lord lieutenant of a county, who had entertained us with splendid hospitality, that his guest was the wife of Kossuth. He was evidently struck, and passionately exclaimed, 'Why did you not tell it me before? I would have treated her with greater honours.'

"At Widdin, the aide-de-camp left me. He was a most amiable, chivalrous man, who, even on the Turkish territory, defended me against the Austrian Consul, who, even here, in a foreign country, attempted to annoy us by examination of passport and visitations of luggage. He probably thought, that I carried the crown of St. Stephen in my carpet-bag.

"From Widdin the Pasha sent me to Shumla, and after five months of dreadful separation, I was again united to my husband."

## V. TURKISH HOSPITALITY.

The usual cold and rainy weather on the great bank of Newfoundland, confined us again to the state-rooms and dining-room, and the conversation with our new American acquaintances turned on the manner in which Kossuth would be received in the States. "He is the nation's guest," we were told, "and nobody except Lafayette, has ever been invited by Congress to the United States. The nation will show how she honours her guest, for there is

no man living more popular in America than Kossuth." It seemed strange that the exiled chief of a nation, scarcely known before her last, though glorious but apparently unsuccessful, struggle,—a man persecuted by all the absolute powers on earth, calumniated by the most important papers of Europe, unconnected in any way with the history or interest of the United States,—should excite such an intense feeling on the Western shores of the Atlantic. Yet, after our experience in England, where he entire population of the great manufacturing cities, urned out to give him a hearty welcome, astonishing the pper classes of society by their unusual sympathy, I did ot doubt the correctness of the statement. It is an istinctive feeling with the masses, that he is the great man d the people, who, though defeated and betrayed, has bstowed more lasting benefits on the oppressed classes of Eastern Europe, than any successful conqueror. Even in Turkey, where there exists hardly any public opinion, where the horizon of the individual does not extend beyond the family and the village or city interests, he was everywhere received as the Padishah of Hungary, the guest of the Sultan, in spite of all the hidden intrigues, and open threats of Russian and Austrian diplomacy, from the Ambassadors down to the Vice-Consuls. When he arrived at Widdin, Zia Pasha showed him every honour, and exerted himself to make him comfortable, requesting him to consider himself the guest of the Sultan. Zia was a Turk of the old school, strictly adhering to the orders he received. The Hungarian soldiers who were encamped around Widdin, were badly provided with clothes, and as the weather began to be cold, Kossuth requested the Pasha, to allow the Hungarians to come in town and give their labour for hire, in order to get the means for buying cloaks. The Pasha said, "I cannot allow that the guests of the Sultan ever should be com-

pelled to work, in order to provide for their wants." "Then buy cloaks for them," answered Kossuth. "This I cannot do," replied Zia; "I have no orders for it." Kossuth retired somewhat dissatisfied, but Zia had reported the request immediately to the Divan, and in a fortnight the order from Stambul had arrived, and the Hungarians were provided with cloaks.

In Tergova, the Pasha had prepared a great dinner for the Sultan's guests, and in order to show his regard, he for the first time in his life made use of a fork at the meal, and took even the grapes with it, wishing to accommodate himself to the customs of his guests. Kossuth, in order to return the compliment, and show how he appreciated the Pasha's courtesy, took the meal with his fingers. Both felt the delicacy of these proceedings, but of course made no remark whatever about the matter. The Pasha of Varna had even French dishes prepared for him, cooked with lard, and was present at the dinner, where the forbidden pork was served to his guest.

In Brussa, the chief of the Dervishes came to meet him, and poured water on his path, and gave him his blessing. In Kutayia, the Turkish population lined the streets on his arrival, and, crossing their hands on their breasts, bade him a respectful welcome. Soliman Bey, who had to guard him, did all he could to cover the precautions necessary to prevent escape with the greatest courtesy and attention. At his daily visit he never forgot to present a bunch of flowers to Madame Kossuth, and sugar-plums and fruits to the children. The officer who accompanied the "guests" as often as they left the barracks, carried the children, or whatever they had bought at the bazaar or shops; he was more their servant than their keeper.

Every attention was paid to the wishes of Kossuth and his family. He wished to have a garden for the cultivation of flowers, and was immediately offered the choice of

the most convenient amongst all the gardens of the city; and as the weather grew hot, and he desired a small kiosk to shelter him from the sun's rays, an elegant spacious garden-house was built for him. When the children arrived, Soliman welcomed them with heaps of cakes, and two ponies for their pleasure; and if sometimes he made promises which he could not keep, he submitted meekly to all subsequent reproaches, and said, "You are right, I am but the poor donkey that must bear the burthen and the lashes, in order that the proud steeds at Constantinople should appear in full glory." When Urquhart came to Kutayia, accompanied by Regaldi, the celebrated Italian improvisatore, and at the dinner given by Mr. Massingberd, the strains of his poetry, inspired by the occasion, enraptured the company; the improvisations were translated for the Turk, who wished to know the cause of the excitement; and having understood the enthusiasm of Regaldi, he, too, offered a sentiment. He said, turning to Kossuth, "There was once a golden vase of the most beautiful form, but two rocks fell upon it, and crushed it,—it lost its form, but still it remained gold; whilst the shapeless rocks are but rocks." And Regaldi had to acknowledge that the Eastern poet had won the palm. When Madame Wagner died, who had saved Madame Kossuth, and brought her out from Hungary, Soliman ordered the troops to escort the burial, and invited the Greek priest, who otherwise is not allowed to appear publicly in his clerical attire, to enter the barracks, where Kossuth and the Hungarians resided; and to head the funeral procession clad in pontificals, with the cross raised in his hand. Not only Kossuth and the Hungarians, but all the Christian inhabitants of Kutayia, were treated with more respect than formerly; for the Turks said, the Hungarian Padishah would not like it if his co-religionists were not treated kindly. When in August, Soliman came at last with the

tidings that the guests of the Sultan were allowed to depart, he was overcome by emotion, he kissed the hands of Kossuth, and spoke: "You are free, and now you will find friends everywhere; pray do not forget those who were your friends when you had no others." The Turks of Kutayia could not conceive why Kossuth wished so much to leave them. "Are you not happy here?" they asked; "we like you and respect you, and the Sultan provides for your wants; why don't you rather remain with us than go to strangers?"

Really the Turks have proved towards Kossuth that they fully deserve their ancient renown for hospitality.

Captain Lines, of the Humboldt, exerted himself in every way to show his kindness to our party; he did everything to cheer up the suffering passengers, and to afford all possible comforts, though some of the sea-sick, and especially the ladies, grew impatient sometimes. People are too apt to take the short summer-passages for the rule: a fortnight's sail from Cowes to New York seemed to us all a very bad run. It is true we had always head-winds, and encountered a series of gales; the rolling of the ship was often unpleasant, though she was very comfortably fitted, and her narrow form, which is necessary on account of the narrow entrance into the Havre docks, makes her very fast-sailing. Towards the end of our journey the weather became less ungenial, the ladies were sometimes able to take a walk on deck; the conversation became more general, and at our arrival in America, we found that, after all, the passage had been a very agreeable one.

# CHAPTER II.

## STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK CITY.

### I. ARRIVAL AT STATEN ISLAND.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

OUR passage was drawing to a close. It is with a voyage as we often find it with an associate—whose best advantages strike us most in the hour of parting; when, forgetting the annoyance he may have caused us, we remember only the bygone pleasures spent together. Though sadly tossed about during a fortnight's gale, worn out almost to that state of loathsome indifference which is characteristic of sea-sickness, yet at the approach of the coast, we all felt that we had grown familiar with that borderless ocean, on which our eye had rested with longing after the dear friends from whom we sailed, and on which we gazed with hope and with wonder, looking forward to the new world which was to unrol before us. The unbounded sea has an inexpressible charm. We all felt it, and this sympathy drew us closer together. The last evening before touching land, we saw more of the society on board than had been the case during the whole of the voyage, and at dinner the cordial feelings expressed themselves in toasts, and were enthusiastically manifested by cheers for Kossuth.

It was a few minutes after midnight on the 5th of December, when a rocket was thrown from the deck of the Humboldt, to announce our arrival in the bay of New York, and this signal was followed by the discharges of cannon

from the ship which were instantly echoed from the shore. The vessel continued to fire guns from the time of her passing the Narrows until she reached the Quarantine Ground, from whence a salute of thirty-one guns greeted us. The Humboldt stopped, and Dr. Doane with Col. Berzenczey and the reporters of the New York press, boarded her. Dr. Doane proceeded to the saloon, and addressed Kossuth in a short but very eloquent speech. During the reply the passengers clustered together on deck, and our excellent Captain Lines shook hands with us: we thanked him for his cordial hospitality and his attentive kindness, and took leave of everybody—of our fellow travellers and fellow-sufferers, of the sailors, the black waiters and the white chambermaid; and we threw a grateful parting glance on the safe vessel, when we descended her slippery ladder, and jumped into the unsteady boat. Madame Kossuth and I both screamed loud, and felt quite glad to draw ashore, and to step, though with wavering foot, on the steady soil. It appeared to us new to tread again firm land, and to see windows of extensive houses flickering with light. Dr. Doane accompanied us to his own kind family circle. Midnight was past, yet the venerable mother of our host, his amiable wife, her sisters and her children, and even the baby with wide open eyes, were assembled round the fireside, tendering us the comforts of their home. Easy sofas and rocking chairs, carpets and crackling wood-fire were most acceptable after our chilly voyage; and the welcome was so warm, that we felt none of the misgivings natural to foreigners, intruding at an unusual hour into a stranger's house.

The conversation opened with questions of how we had borne the passage? and poor Madame Kossuth, how much she must have suffered with a frame so tried, and her health broken by unparalleled hardships. And all eyes turned wondering towards her pale countenance; and the cook,

and the nurse, and the housemaid came to the room, and mingled their questions and their sympathy with that of their mistress.

Meanwhile, Kossuth had been followed to his apartment by Major Hagedorn, with several militia officers, and addresses were delivered and answered. It was three o'clock before we retired to bed, too much worn out and excited to find rest. When at last we sank asleep, hoping not to wake before the breakfast bell rang, we were suddenly roused by a heavy cannonade. I looked at the watch, it was but half-past six. Unaccustomed, at such an hour, to so thundering an ovation, I rushed to the window looking out on the sea. The sun was rising in glorious magnificence, and lighted up the haze stretching over the waters; a broad zone of fire extended over the edge of the ocean, like a crimson band, dividing the deep blue sky from the green sea. It was so beautiful that I felt quite glad at the peculiar hospitality of the authorities of Staten Island, who, zealous to honour our arrival, broke into our sleep with so early a discharge of their guns. Yet this neglect of physical comfort, strange as it must strike every European, seems quite natural with Americans. We Hungarians, likewise, can toil and make shift in times of struggle, but when in peace and affluence we like to enjoy leisure. Not so here, the Americans are always in a hurry; hardly noticing what their table offers, they take that which happens to stand before them, and treat their meals as a business to be dispatched as quickly as possible. And as for sleep, they appear to consider it rather an unlucky habit to be restrained as much as possible. Therefore, when I peeped out of the room, to see if others too had been aware of the roaring salute, I saw the whole household busily walking to and fro, on the passage and the stairs; and the lady of the house greeted me, obviously not astonished that I was up so early. I remarked, "Your rest has been very short."

"We did not go to bed at all," was the reply; "we wished to accommodate your party as well as possible, and we do not mind at all staying up."

The morning sparkled brightly, the skies were clear and transparent as the glance of youth; the small garden below was laid out in neat beds; the trees were newly planted; a whitewashed *Kiosk*, with a red top, and blinds painted grass-green, looked quite smart; everything bore the varnish of freshness, and brought home to my mind that all around was new and young. And yet when I turned round, and beheld across the bay whole worlds of cities, spreading before my eyes, it appeared like the realization of a fairy-tale.

The housemaid entering, interrupted my meditation with the question, what she could do for me? she would be glad to do anything; and she sat down enquiring what I wanted, and assured me she would be very glad to help me. I answered that I found my wants provided for; but she continued to urge on her services with good-natured garrulity, till at last she rose, and I thought I had done with her. But after a short while she re-appeared in great finery, a mixture of a lady's winter and summer toilet, a dark silk skirt and white lace sleeves appended to a muslin jacket. It appears, that when she had found she could do nothing for my comfort, she thought she ought at least to dress, in order to please me.

Down stairs, in the dining-room, we found our amiable hosts, expecting us with breakfast; the children, too, formed part of the company. Sturdy, independent little things, with their own views and their own will. This is the feature characteristic of American children of all classes. Shyness I never met with in them; self-thought and self-management are remarkably developed, but, likewise, premature self-will, an obstacle to self-control, dangerously

fostering the ungovernable passions which people so many lunatic asylums in the States.

Staten Island, at the entrance of the estuary of New York, is, in summer, a favourite resort of the society of the cities around the bay, though the State of New York has established here the great fever hospital. Contagious ship fever reigns so often on board of the crowded emigrant ships, especially when head winds detain them for a long time at sea, and the provisions are scarce, that the health of the city was in continual danger. No ship is therefore allowed to land at New York before it has been visited by the physician of the quarantine at Staten Island. The heavy expenses for the great hospital are but scantily met by the dollars which the captains of the vessels pay for every arriving passenger, and which is included in the passage-money. The burden of keeping the quarantine devolves exclusively upon the city and state of New York. The general government does not contribute to the costs of the establishment, though the emigrants usually pass as soon as possible through the state, hastening to the west. But the American says, New York is the first sea-port of the union, the principal outlet of the products of the north-west; it must therefore bear also the drawbacks and inconveniences of this prominent position. Dr. Doane had the management of the quarantine, and told me how miserable are the thousands of Irish who weekly arrive at that hospital. He accomplished his task as their physician with the noble devotion of a practical philanthropist, and little did I think, when he pictured to me the woes of the poor Irish people, that he himself would soon fall a prey to the fearful complaint from which he had rescued so many of them. Shortly after we left his hospitable roof, he caught the dangerous disease, in the accomplishment of his duty, and died in two days, a victim of his zeal.

From breakfast we were called to the balcony, by shouts, and trumpets, and drums. The militia band of the island, followed by hundreds of hurraing people, greeted Kossuth. He came out to thank them on the balcony, which was so thronged with visitors, that we had good reason to think the frail construction would give way; therefore we retired, probably to the disappointment of the daguerreotypists, three of whom, I understood, were busily employed to catch Kossuth's likeness, whilst he was welcomed by the crowd.

Several of our Hungarians were there, who, unable to find employment in overcrowded England, had proceeded to the United States. We found the great majority doing well; and this is not only owing to the much greater facility of getting work in America, but, in respect to those who in Hungary ranked amongst the higher classes of society, to the circumstance, that, whilst in the Old World all physical labour is considered ungentlemanlike, in America, on the contrary, not to work is looked upon as thoroughly degrading. An idle man never can meet there with sympathy, whatever his previous position may have been; and if a man cannot work with his brains, he is expected to labour with his hands. In a country where every one who will work, can earn his livelihood, age, sickness, or vice, alone can lead to helplessness. In the States every one is respected who can help himself, whilst only those are assisted who are disabled by age or sickness.

Amongst those who came to express their joy at the arrival of the great Hungarian, I felt most interested at Kagigahgabow, the Ojibbeway chief, who, since he has adopted the ungraceful dress-coat of civilization, calls himself George Copway. He long ago had attracted my attention, as the author of the traditional history of his nation, and now I heard him deliver the following address, most

touching from the lips of one torn irretrievably from his nation, because he tasted the fruit of the tree of civilisation, under whose shade he has found shelter. He spoke:

"I am very glad that I see you. I am very glad to give you my hand, and in the name of my nation and of this country, bid you welcome. Having suffered like yourself, I am here alone to represent the Indian nations of this country. I am one of those who peopled North America before the Anglo-Saxon race came hither. My home is in the West, where my nation lives. I am glad that the Anglo-Saxon race has learned the word 'Liberty.' The Indian of this country enjoyed it before him, and now it has gone back to the old country, and is now becoming the motto of all nations;—and to-day I thank the Great Spirit, that He has saved my life to welcome you to our shores."

Kossuth responded to these words by a warm pressure of the hand.

In private intercourse I found Mr. Copway much less reserved and silent than the Indians in general, yet his olive countenance, with strongly marked, broad cheek-bones, bears the stamp of his origin.

Our conversation was interrupted by the approach of a procession and a file of carriages, which conveyed us to a hill, about half a mile distant, where a large tent was erected for a public meeting. The citizens of Staten Island were zealous to be the first to greet and yet more to hear Kossuth. The Hungarian colours and the American flag gaily fluttered in the invigorating morning breeze, the clamour was great, the throng dense, the band played merrily, and the guns thundered incessantly. After a little tear and wear of our clothes, and some pressure no quite pleasant, we were led into the tent, close to the platform raised for Kossuth. The tent was decorated with

banners, commemorating the support America had got from foreign countries when struggling for liberty, and the duty of the Americans to do to others as they had done to them. Intervention for non-intervention was the leading idea. But the audience little seemed to notice the pageantry, their whole attention was occupied by the hero of the day. They were bent on every word that fell from the lips of the soul-stirring orator, and his dignified deportment evidently impressed the crowd; it was no longer boisterous curiosity elbowing to the right and left; but the anxiety not to lose one accent, or one glimpse, established a silence and order which no police could have achieved. Only here and there a little ragged urchin popped from some corner, making his way to the platform, and taking his stand with a most democratic determination. In vain I strove to make one of them understand that my foot was not a stool, he persisted in using it as such, and the only concession I could obtain was, to transfer him from my right foot to the left.

After Kossuth's reply to the address of Mr. Locke, in behalf of the citizens of Staten Island, the stir of curiosity again awoke, and General Paez, the companion in arms of Bolivar, who welcomed the great Hungarian in Spanish, and the address on behalf of the German citizens of the United States were repeatedly interrupted by the pressure of the multitude, especially by ladies, who, not content with hearing and seeing, were anxious to shake hands, or to carry relics home; one of them succeeded likewise in cutting a button from Kossuth's overcoat. Great numbers of people were introduced to him, and those whom no desperate effort could carry through the circle by which he was barricaded, tried to shake hands at least with Madame Kossuth, or with some of our Hungarian gentlemen, whom they recognised by their differently shaped hats. The sturdy melody of Yankee Doodle was again play-

ed by the band, and closed the ceremony in the tent; and when we had fairly got out of introductions, handshakings, and squeezes, and at last were safely escorted to the carriages, the procession was resumed.

Already more familiar, and therefore less bewildered than in the morning, with the clamour and the throng which surrounded us ever since we had landed, I now surveyed the procession which unfolded before us. The different companies of the militia, the Odd Fellows in their quaint 'regalia,' the firemen's companies, the German turners (gymnastical associations), and the motley crowd presented a lively scene, as they moved on, hurraing and shouting incessantly. They seemed indefatigable, for, regardless of the biting cold, they carried us all round the island, from the hills to New Brighton, and from thence to Stapleton. All along we saw nice villas, wooden structures, many of them in the Italian style, which contrasted with the clear winter-sky. Though looking out on the splendid sea, with its ever mellow breath, the eye may forget the northern climate, yet, as I felt very chilly, I could not help remarking, that the lightly built houses, surrounded by uncovered galleries and open treeless grounds,* seemed little adapted to a latitude, where I was told the summer is as hot as I experienced the winter to be cold. Yet the Americans, who accompanied us, seemed not to find this objectionable, obviously as little caring for the trying influences of cold and heat as for food and for rest; they have no standard of cold suitable to our more sensitive nerves.

The scenery of Staten Island, though deprived of foliage, and the warm hue of summer, appeared very pretty. Undulating hills, crowned by nice abodes, and well wooded slopes, make it most attractive, yet it cannot claim the rare mixture of grandeur and loveliness so striking in

* Americans, in general, do not like trees round their houses.

the Isle of Wight; it is tamer and less varied; the lines of the heights are gentle, but monotonous; it offers no picturesque landscapes, though a most delightful site. Many of the citizens of New York have built here abodes in the most varied and grotesque taste. Here an Italian villa, with an oriental veranda; there a Byzantine façade, with a pointed Gothic steeple; yonder on the hill a wooden house, with heavy ornaments, *à la renaissance;* and below in the valley a Swiss cottage, with two lions or tigers, or something between both, a fierce quadruped of the artist's own creation, guarding the doorposts. As there is yet ground enough for the erection of many a building, the island may grow a motley sample of architectural specimens, and may thus at first sight impress the traveller with what architecture is in the States,—a chaotic conglomeration of all styles and all tastes, thrown together as if by chance. But we must confess this style has been introduced from England, and Regent Street and Trafalgar Square remain unsurpassed in that respect all over the world.

Our party moved on slowly over the slopes, followed by numbers of school boys and girls. They threw nosegays and wreaths into our carriage, and loudly exulted, when some of them succeeded in getting up the steps and in peeping into our faces.

Interesting as were the gay scenes around, yet we thought the trip rather long, especially considering that Kossuth had to prepare his address to the people of New York for the ensuing day, and that, since our arrival, he had not been left to himself one single moment. He likewise requested the gentlemen to shorten the tour, yet nothing could damp their enthusiastic zeal, to exhibit to us every locality of the Island, and especially to exhibit the "great Hungarian" to everybody: and so we had to drive along the whole circuit.

When, at last, we sat at the dinner-table, feeling quite at home in the amiable family-circle of our kind host, we thought the task of the day accomplished. But the meal was hardly over, when in poured ladies and gentlemen, and Mr. A. A., and Mrs. B. B., and her daughters, and the daughter's cousin, and the cousin's sister, and Mr. D. D., and young Mr. D. D., were introduced, till we had fairly gone through the whole alphabet.

At last the busy hum of the first day of hospitable reception was over, and we went to rest; tired, but grateful for the sympathy which greeted us as friends, and kindly strove to make us forget that we were homeless exiles.

## II. RECEPTION IN NEW YORK.

*Dec. 6th.*—The sun shone this morning as splendidly as yesterday, but to-day I was so fortunate as not to see its rising, for our sleep was not disturbed by cannonades in our honour. When I approached the window I was fascinated with the view on the wonderful bay, peopled by the steam-boats which carry commerce and life to and from its islands and cities. But soon voices were heard below, and I was summoned to breakfast. I found the parlour occupied by militia and navy officers, the former belonging to the Richmond county-guards, the same corps that received and attended La Fayette at his visit in the United States, the latter were of the Mississippi steam-frigate which carried Kossuth and his family from Ghemlik to Gibraltar, the deputation of the Reception Committee from New York, and numbers of other visitors were likewise present, and introductions and speeches succeeded one another.

Most of the inhabitants of Staten Island and many other gentlemen, amongst whom we were delighted to greet Mr. Stiles, late United States minister at Vienna, accompanied

us to the boat which was ready to convey us to New York. The presence of Mr. Stiles, and our conversation with him on bygone times, when Hungary sought his mediation before the entry of Windischgrätz in Pesth, strongly brought before my mind our struggles and sufferings, and when I heard now the hurraing shouts of joy, bursting from the masses, and re-echoed by roars of cannon and peals of music, I could not help feeling very sad, and when I looked at Kossuth and his wife, close to whom I chanced to stand, I saw that their impression was similar to my own.

We were pushed hard before we could get through the crowd on board the Vanderbilt, a most elegant steamer, ornamented by the star-spangled banner, unfolding above the Hungarian tricolour, and the Turkish crescent. But we had little leisure to admire the sumptuous decorations, gildings, mirrors, and tapestries of the boat which carried us; we were too much interested in the panorama along the shores as we steamed about the bay, and in succession got the views of Jersey city, Brooklyn, Williamsburgh, and New York, which proudly adorn the estuary of the Hudson, and are connected by the ever-running ferry-boats into one colossal city. As we moved on and passed the navy yard, with its stately men-of-war, we recognised amongst them the Mississippi. All the masts and all the yards were peopled with seamen and mariners, who shouted and hurraed uninterruptedly, whilst our steamer came up, and the ferry-boats blew their whistles, and the flags of America and Hungary greeted us on every masthead and from many a sail. The animated groups of vessels incessantly roared with cannonades, which our ship returned, mingling this thundering bass to the loud music of the band on board. When we turned from Jersey city towards Castle Garden and the Battery, our eyes were caught by hundreds and hundreds of glittering swords and regimentals, and masses of people seemed to swell all along the

shore. A chaotic noise of vociferation received our steamer when it halted at some yards from the Castle Garden. In fact, the waters were shallow, and anxiety to be the first to step ashore, kept so large a mass of passengers to one side, that it became impossible to land for a considerable time. At last many of the party got out in small boats, and about noon we debarked at the Battery on Manhattan Island. The military formed an avenue through which we were to pass to the hall of Castle Garden, where the people assembled to hear Kossuth. But though our gentlemen, and several officers of the navy and the aldermen who accompanied us, did their very best to shield us, it proved all in vain. The military flourished their swords about to protect us; but the crowd pushed them so vigorously, that there was real danger that we should be hurt by that gallant defence. Nothing could resist the pressure from without; even Lieutenant Nelson, endowed not only with a commanding Kentuckian frame, but likewise with the hardy spirit of his country, could not prevent Madame Kossuth from being repeatedly torn from his arm. At last we emerged on a platform, to which we were raised by invisible agencies. Before us stood Kossuth and the Mayor and several other gentlemen of the Committee; under us numberless heads moved to and fro, and above, people seemed intent to break down the rows of galleries which surrounded the hall, for they thronged and pressed forward, and then there seemed below and above and from all sides, a rush towards Kossuth, so spontaneous as if an electric shock pushed every one ahead. The mayor attempted to speak, but his accents were drowned in thundering hurras, the aldermen gestured, and some of the marshals raised their sticks, adorned with Hungarian rosettes, but all without effect, the rush continued and the cheers swelled to tumultuous uproar. "What do they want?" inquired I from one of the gentlemen. "They are all so very anxious to hear

the great Patriot," was the reply. "Then they do not apply the most direct means of getting what they want; how is any man to make himself heard in such turmoil!" This was my remark in a moment, when the flood of excitement seemed to give way. But I had no leisure to hear or see what ensued, because one of the marshals said to us, "Now, ladies, you had better get out to the carriages; you will not be able to break through afterwards." And as we had no inclination to "break through" again, we at once followed the advice, and by a back door, safely got to the carriage, which we occupied with Mr. Pulszky and Lieutenant Nelson. We had now time to survey all the decorations, and the spectators assembled on the spot from whence the procession was to start.

A long row of carriages extended from the corner of the Battery, near Bowling Green, to the triumphal arch erected at the beginning of Broadway. The arch was decorated with the colours of Hungary, intermixed with the star-spangled banner and the Turkish crescent, which floated above the arms of New York, bequeathed to this city by its embryo—New Amsterdam. The Dutch sails of a windmill, two whiskey barrels, and the beaver skin—those emblems of the original Dutch settlement, and of the means by which the fur trade was carried on, and the extermination of the Indians was achieved—remain still the arms of the "Empire City." At our right, the cavalry galloped to and fro along the alleys of Castle Garden, and the infantry drew up in long lines. The windows of all the houses before us were filled with people; the bricks of the roofs, and the twigs of the trees seemed to have all become alive, on every branch perched scores of children. Great masses of gentlemen in black coats, others in workmen's attire, covered the whole extent of Battery Place, and crowded about the garden, while the police and the marshals were incessantly shouting, "Room for the carriages, gentlemen! Gen-

tlemen, if you please, room for the carriages!" Several ladies and gentlemen, and workmen, came up to our carriage, and almost every one of them addressed to us the question, "How do you like America, is it not a great country?" To which we of course answered, that "what we see is very fine indeed, but that we landed only yesterday on American soil." But this conclusive answer seemed not to give satisfaction, because the bystanders repeatedly put the same question. One man came up to us, and said that he likewise was a refugee, a German, driven to America in 1848; that he now kept a shop, and liked it very well, and should be glad to receive us at his shop, and to tell us all about New York; and he was anxious to know what we thought about it, and how we had borne the passage, and so on. We could not get rid of him, till the Alderman requested, with some authority, that he should leave us alone, and I thought,—certainly, not only the Americans *born* are inquisitive! either the emigrants at once become Americans, or there is in the very air across the ocean some influence that stimulates curiosity.

An Alderman, who in the mean time was introduced to us, now pointed to the military forming into line, and joining the procession before us. I was struck by the soldier-like appearance of the militia; they certainly looked as if the regimentals were their daily garb; nothing stiff in their bearing, nothing awkward in their movements, they appeared fully disciplined. And when I glanced around on the vigorous, sturdy countenances of the young men, I noticed that every one of them looked quite as soldier-like as the militia; and, therefore, when the Alderman asked me whether I found the aspect of the masses different from that of the English, I replied, "Yes, this people look as if they were more generally pervaded by a military spirit." "And yet we are as fond of peace as the English," he said. "Well," answered I, "of that I cannot judge,

but it has nothing to do with a military spirit; that is not necessarily aggressive, but is self-confident; and, therefore, people pervaded by it, look conscious that they can themselves defend their own rights, and need no large and expensive standing army." "England, likewise, has but a small standing army," remarked the Alderman. "Yes," said I; "but she trusts, it appears to me, more to the acknowledged power of her fleet to prevent any attack, than to the military spirit of her people, who look like citizens conscious of their commanding wealth and civilisation, but quite convinced that they are not likely to be ever called upon to defend their hearths." "Have you been long in England? you speak English with great ease," again asked the Alderman. "I was in England about two years." "And you?" he continued, turning to Mr. Pulzsky; who replied, that he had resided there yet longer, and consequently was familiar with the language. "And do you also speak our language?" continued the inquisitive Alderman, addressing Lieutenant Nelson; "I calculate I do," was the answer. "Certainly you appear to talk with perfect facility; is it long since you have learnt it? and where have you been taught so well?" "In my father's house, about twenty-six years ago," retorted the officer. The Alderman looked quite perplexed at the young man, and exclaimed, "How so! is English taught to infants in Hungary?" "This I don't know," replied Lieutenant Nelson, "but I learnt it in Kentucky;" and, pointing to his coat, said, "Don't you know your own navy?"

We laughed that our Kentuckian friend had, *by his language*, been mistaken for a Hungarian, and found that the Alderman had certainly much flattered us for our knowledge of foreign tongues.

"Where is he? which is the Governor?" was now shouted from all sides, and all eyes turned towards the alley

from which Kossuth issued on horseback, accompanied by General Sandford and his staff, after their inspection of the troops. The whole procession preceded us, and therefore I could learn nothing more of it than the description given in the newspapers. But even had they not recorded its pompous length, I should have been fully aware of it by the time it lasted before our carriage began to move, and then it only advanced a few paces, to stop and wait again. Yet, during the slow progress, we had enough to see: flags, with the most varied inscriptions of welcome and sympathy, waved from every roof and every window, and others were suspended across the way; evergreens and red and white roses encircled the door-arches, whilst hundreds of stores were adorned with the Hungarian colours, and the portraits of Kossuth, Washington, and Lafayette. The American Eagle spread its wings over the numerous decorations in which the names of Washington and Kossuth were coupled. The Sultan, backed by the British Lion, was likewise triumphantly represented as the noble champion of liberty; and the Russian Bear, and the rescuing Mississippi, and the hospitable Humboldt, every one held a place in this public acknowledgment of universal interest in the fate of the great Patriot.

The finest view of the city we got that day was, when we reached the American Museum. The open space of the Park then relieved the eye from the rows of high buildings through which we had passed. Before us extended the straight line of Broadway, second in length only to Oxford street, but surpassing it in regularity of buildings, and especially in the magnificence of the hotels. The large square, called the Park, which extends before the City Hall, appeared as the centre of the crowd, which overflowed all the places and streets of New York.

On the steps of the City Hall was a tricolour canopy, to which Kossuth was led. Hardly had he stepped from the

carriage, when such thronging and such tumultuous uproar began, that I felt quite bewildered, and expected every moment to see our carriage and all those which preceded us swept away by the multitude. I hardly know what ensued, for the confusion and noise grew every moment, and the crowd obstructed our view in all directions. After a stormy hour we at last began to move again, and slowly passed along the line formed by the brilliant militia, offering a most striking variety of nationalities and regimentals. The American rifles, who never miss their aim, and never retreat before fire; English hussars on fine horses, and again hussars with helmets and epaulets; Irish volunteers, with their animated countenances and dark hair, finely relieved by their green coats; the Washington guards, in the old style, with blue and buff coats, high boots, and powdered wigs and tails, recalling vividly bygone times, that we well might fancy they were relics of the revolutionary war; the German grenadiers, and stern black rifles—formed altogether a most impressive and varied picture.

It grew almost dark before we had achieved the whole circuit up Broadway and down Bowery. We reached the Irving-House by a back-door, for the front entrance was obstructed by the crowd. Yet the stairs and passages of this large hotel were likewise beset by gazers; it seemed as if gazing had become the business of the occasion, for everybody was everywhere on the look-out, even where I could not detect anything worth glancing at, and therefore I was much pleased to retire to the dining-room, where the mayor, as president of our meal, expected us.

I was greatly amused, that only black waiters attended us at table. They all looked very smart and clean, in white jackets and aprons, and I noticed with great interest the shining black faces, and the prominent rolling eyes, beaming with a most jolly expression of self-satisfaction, especially with one of them, whose hair was *frisé* straight.

up and trimmed with as much care as the beard of King Shalmanassar, in the British Museum. The lighter coloured Mulatto, apparently one of the head-waiters, had an air of condescending superiority, fully acknowledged by his black subordinates, who busied themselves with great precision around the table.

In the drawing-room we found a whole bazaar of beautiful nosegays and wreaths. The profusion of flowers in the room, and the love of the ladies for flowers, struck me ever since our arrival on the American shores. In every parlour we entered, bouquets ornamented the vases on the tables, and we hardly met a lady who did not offer us flowers; they seem here necessary articles for every elegant house, and an indispensable appendage of a hospitable welcome.

In spite of the darkness, the movement and the noise in the street below continued and increased, when suddenly one mass of light illuminated Broadway to a considerable distance. It was a torchlight procession of the Germans and the Turner Society,* distinguished from the surrounding crowd by their white attire, which gives them the appearance of a company of millers, who have been just handling their flour. These associations, which, during the great movement against Napoleon in 1815, did so much to keep up the spirit and the energies of the German fatherland, are now prohibited everywhere in their native country, and it is only across the ocean that they can freely associate, and freely sing the patriotic tunes which once called their countrymen to the defence of their hearths, and which now unite them again on distant shores. Their band struck up a march under our windows, but its sounds were lost in the deafening whirl of a confusion of shouts, and a storm of impatience seemed to be roused, as Kossuth,

* A Society for gymnastic exercise; the name is derived from tournament.

who was engaged with a deputation from Philadelphia, did not come to the balcony. One of the American gentlemen spoke to the masses, trying to quiet them, but no silence could be obtained. Mr. Pulszky then appeared, who, with his Hungarian hat, luckily was taken for Kossuth; and as the words he addressed to the crowd could not be heard in the loud chorus of cheers and hurras, he made no farther effort to explain who was who, he bowed low, and waved his hat, and the crowd was satisfied; but the noise and talk, and the roars and laughter, and the buzz of the multitude, continued long after we had retired

## III. NEW YORK SOCIETY, ARCHITECTURE, AND MEETINGS.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

*Dec. 9th.*—When on Sunday we drove to St. Bartholomew's Church, the fine streets of New York looked quiet and sober in comparison with what they had appeared on the previous day. The houses, before so gaudily and gaily apparelled, stood in silent uniformity, their long lines now unbroken by decorations. Compared with London, but few squares and terraces refresh the eye, and no magnificent park breathes health around. It is very remarkable, that whilst the American cities generally command plenty of room, and therefore their houses could easily have been so disposed as to leave ample space for pleasure-grounds, they seem to be avoided as superfluous. And yet the trees along the avenues, and the creepers clustering up the walls of the most elegant houses, show that the Anglo-Saxon race is not less partial to green spots and fresh blossoms across the ocean, than their ancestors were in once merry old England.

The sermon in the Episcopalian Church, which we attended, was dogmatical, and therefore appealing exclu-

sively to the reasoning faculties, and neither calming the mind nor bedewing the feeling. Such sermons are very different from those we were accustomed to hear in Hungary, where they generally preach on moral topics addressed to the heart and imagination, thus leading to contemplation, instead of arousing ideas of controversy. After service was over, I had leisure to see the congregation, which was so numerous that people could get out but slowly. No characteristical costumes mark here the different grades of society, which, in Eastern Europe, impress the foreigner at once with the varied occupations and habits of an old country. There is the peasant girl with the gaudy ribbons interlaced in her long tresses, her bright corset and her richly-folded petticoat; there the Hungarian peasant with his white linen shirt, and his stately sheepskin; the Slovak in the closely fitting jacket and the bright yellow buttons; the farmer with the high boots and the Hungarian coat; the old women with the black lace cap in the ancient national style, and none but the young ladies apparelled in French bonnets and modern dresses. But here all have submitted to the rule of Paris fashion, despotically swaying over Western Europe and across the Atlantic; they all wear the uniforms prescribed by English tailors and French milliners. One gentleman passes after the other, every one of them clad so exactly alike, that they seem cast in one and the same mould, and the ladies wear the same bonnets, the same silk dresses and furs, only varied in colour, but equal in cut, equal in adornment. There is no individual turn of mind impressed on the outward appearance, and therefore such an assembly bears a manufactured, thoroughly unartistical stamp, in singular contrast to the poetical beauty of the ladies. In Europe, I always had understood, that American women were very pretty up to twenty, but that their bloom was soon gone. Here, on the contrary, I beheld a whole congregation of attractive countenances, and

though certainly many of them had passed the prime of youth, the charm of beauty had by no means departed from their faces.

We proceeded to the house of Mayor Kingsland, and enjoyed a quiet Sabbath in his amiable family circle. It was numerous, as families generally are in America, where people marry young, and where society is in the happy state that many children are considered great blessings, and not great cares, as is generally the case on the continent of Europe. And this, as I often had the opportunity to remark in America, is not owing only to the greater facility of getting employment for them, but more especially to the rational view that young men have to push their own way, and that after they have got the benefit of a good education, they are not to depend on their parents for support. Therefore, it is not only the son of the poor and of the little educated families who must look forward *to make himself a man*, but in all classes we meet *self-made men*, who, in consequence, are independent not only in position and fortunes, but likewise by their practical experience, and who, for this very reason, become fit to be self-governed citizens.

Mr. Kingsland is likewise such a self-made man. When yet a boy of fourteen he engaged in business, and, beginning with a small capital, he now, in the prime of manhood, commands ample possessions; and yet each of his sons, so he told me, must choose some profession, for nothing is more despicable and unfortunate, he said, than men without occupation—a life of mere pleasure kills enjoyment.

Mrs. Kingsland, a mother of nine children, is one of those who, by youthful appearance, deny the prejudice that the bloom of American ladies is but short; and I have since found so frequently mothers of large families whom I mistook for the sisters of their daughters, that

I may affirm, that their household cares do not wear them out.

And yet I have heard with them so frequent complaints of the difficulty in managing servants, that the task of a housewife might seem Herculean indeed. I know one instance, where the lady with whom we dined excused herself for the imperfections of the meal she offered us, by the circumstance that her cook had left her just as the dinner was going to be prepared. "Without any previous notice?" inquired I, astonished. "Oh, she did it on purpose to annoy me," was the answer, "because I had repeatedly found fault with her management. It is a sad thing with us, seriously interfering with our domestic comfort, that we cannot get an attendant to remain with us any length of time; they think nothing of changing places, ever so often."

"But do not the masters think it very unsafe," I remarked, "to take people who have not the recommendation of steady characters? If those who leave service for any petty reason could not find employment again without considerable difficulty, they would take good care not to run away."

"No doubt that this would be a check," answered the lady, "but then there is the difficulty of getting servants—the demand is larger than the supply."

"Is this the case likewise here in New York?" asked I, "where emigrants abound, and would be glad to earn something before they proceed farther into the country?"

"The emigrants who come here willing to serve," continued the lady, "are either ragged Irish, filthy and negligent, and therefore little desirable as servants, or Germans, generally small farmers or poor mechanics, whose daughters at home had been accustomed only to the meanest housework, and are but little adapted to attend to a larger and more refined establishment; and the worst, they are

impertinent, because they know that we cannot do without them."

"Excuse me," said I, interrupting my amiable friend, "this is the point—*that they know you cannot do without them.* If cooking, sewing, washing, &c., were to form elements of the practical education of an American lady, she would seldom be called upon to leave her piano for the kitchen fire, and she would have good servants. The uneducated are like children, who instinctively feel whom they have to deal with, and who obey only those who are consistent and just in their orders, and it is obviously impossible to be either consistent or just in the direction of a work we do not understand."

The lady acknowledged the truth of this assertion, but objected that her daughters, for example, were initiated in the domestic arts, of which our meal was an evidence, which they had dressed themselves; but that the servants were so accustomed, by the general habit, not to be told of anything, that they would not submit to the slightest reproof, and that, in consequence, she often had to change her cooks from six to ten times in a year.

Of course it is difficult for individuals to counteract an evil which is rooted, as it seems to me, *partly* in the accidental circumstances of the country, but much more still in certain habitual prejudices and customs. That employment is more accessible, and that thrifty people can more easily keep up their hearth in the United States than in Europe, are facts which necessarily diminish the competition of servants; but the prejudice which I have found very much spread in America, that the female sex is honoured by being expected *not to work*, and the custom to attach a selfish meaning to "independence," viz., "*every one for himself*," certainly acts much more to demoralize the servants and to discomfort the masters than any other influence.

It is a common boast with American gentlemen, that their ladies rule, and are more respected than anywhere else in the world. I heard this often repeated in the society of New York, and I inquired of a gentleman, who was repeating this pet phrase, in what way they ruled? "Why, they have all they like," was the reply: "they dress and go shopping, and have not to care about anything; we even live in hotels, to save them the trouble of housekeeping."

"I see," observed I, "you are almost as courteous as the Turks, who allow their wives every amusement in their harems, and about the shops, whilst they attend to graver matters. The elegantly-gilded and painted parlours of your hotels, where the ladies meet to rock away time in the easy rocking-chairs, are admirable harems; but what has all this to do with *the rule* of your ladies? Even granted that you accepted their wishes as commands, still you are no Pashas whose whims claim obedience from the community; you, yourselves, rule only by the active part you take in public affairs, and do you mean to say you consult your ladies about these matters?"

"Well, not exactly," answered the gentleman; "but, (said he) a lady can travel alone all over the States without danger of an insult, or unbecoming behaviour; our daughters go often out, and are in society without their mothers—every man is their natural protector."

"Quite as in Turkey," replied I; "no man, not even the husband, would ever dare to follow his veiled lady in the streets, and if he sees a slipper before the door of her room, the sign that another lady visits her, not even the Pasha presumes to intrude. And as to the travels of the unprotected ladies, they are perhaps less frequent in Europe than in America, but the manners and customs of our age protect them as efficiently in the old as in the new world. All the difference perhaps is, that the morality in

the United States is more sterling than in France and Italy, or in the capitals of Austria and Russia, and therefore flirtations with married ladies are unheard of."

"But in Europe," he said, "women even work in the fields, and they must assist the husbands to earn subsistence for their families; with us, even in the factories, the girls work until they marry, but once married, the maintenance of the family is the care of the husband, and an American farmer would feel degraded, if his wife or daughter should hoe the corn or break the flax."

Of course, I readily acknowledged, that owing to the greater facilities of earning a livelihood, the women of the lower classes were much better off than in Europe, but I did not understand in what way the respect for the fair sex is connected with this fact. The gentleman turned to other topics; I sought information on the other side, and understood from some very intellectual ladies, that their lords, *in general*, little consult the opinions of their female rulers, even as concerns their own private affairs. I learnt, that it occurs but too often, that a lady who believes herself to be in affluent circumstances, is suddenly informed by her husband that they must give up housekeeping, because they cannot afford it. It appears as if the gentlemen would atone for their all-absorbing *passion for business*, by the privilege they give to the ladies of idling their time away. And as *business* is a passion with the Americans,—as business is with them not the means, but the very life of existence, they are most anxious to keep this department *exclusively* to themselves; and, well aware that there is no more infallible way to secure non-interference, than by giving the general impression that they never act for themselves, *the lady's rule* has become a current phrase, but by no means a fact in the United States.

*Dec.* 11*th.*—Yesterday we went shopping with some

ladies, and visited the most elegant resorts of shawls, silks, lace, millinery, and jewellery. I tried to get some American material for dresses; but their national prints are so gaudy in colour, and comparatively so expensive, that I do not wonder that French and English silks form the habitual apparel of American ladies. They seem to be very extravagant in this respect, for we hardly met one lady in Broadway without light coloured rich silks, such as in Paris we are only wont to see at evening parties; and they wear plumed bonnets, with which they would look much better in elegant coaches along the alleys of a park, than among the pedestrians of the dusty pavement at New York. And there they walk with very thin shoes, unmindful of the cold from which they shield their necks by ample furs, but their delicate feet remain unprotected by the double soles with which English ladies are wont to steer bravely through the wet and mud. Such expeditions American ladies greatly shun, and it is only on very clear days that they venture even so far as Broadway, and seldom without a carriage to cover their retreat.

Shopping and calls seem here, as well as in London, considerable items in the expenditure of time with the ladies. Their hours are altogether earlier than in England; their occupations, exercise in the open air excepted, much the same as in the mother country. They attend public beneficent institutions, read whatever publishers or newspapers recommend to their attention, write as many letters as they can think of, play some waltzes, and even occasionally, the Yankee Doodle, or the Star-spangled Banner; copy modern prints, or some landscape with very blue lakes, very green trees, and remarkably violet mountains; or instead of the brush, they use the needle, and embroider similarly gaudy objects on a screen or cushion. The household affairs interfere but little with the visits, lectures, concerts, and theatres, and a good deal of sociable

gaiety is mixed up with this life of fashion amongst the ladies in New York. In the summer months they habitually desert town for their country seats on the Hudson, or they make a trip to Europe, but more often to Saratoga or some other watering place; excursions to Mobile and New Orleans are not unfrequent with the ladies of New York, whose nerves seem to shrink from cold, at least judging by their rooms, where they keep up a temperature perfectly insupportable to us. In that respect their passages and fine mahogany stairs are much more inhabitable than their apartments, because there the stoves diffuse equal warmth, whilst here the chimneys and Manchester carpets add an oppressive surplus of heat. And yet their houses are much less cage-like than in London; the drawing-rooms, library, and dining-room, though spacious, are often on the same floor, whilst the bed-rooms and nurseries alone occupy the upper stories. And the nurseries form by no means the exclusive realm of the children: they roam about the house, upstairs and down, circulating freely like little birds not confined to cages, but fluttering about the whole precinct of an ample hot-house. And thus the little ones are not abandoned to the nurses, but the mother has them constantly under her eye, though I cannot say under her control, for they have their own way, they run in and out, and play tumbling and dragging about books and cushions and chairs, and climbing up and down just as they please. In consequence they never are embarrassed, and meet every one who chances to come with the most perfect ease. Unconstrained, and not pre-occupied by any conventional rule, they grow strikingly sharp, and answer to every inquiry with a self-dependence and self-observation which never can be obtained by a training to accepted notions and habitual manners. But on the other side, such children, unaccustomed to check and to control their impulses, easily become spoiled to all discipline, and this ex-

plains in a great measure the habit prevalent in America, of placing even the girls at school, thus depriving the mother of her most precious privilege to educate her own daughter. Of course, when the little girl, simply abandoned to her inclinations, is never made conscious that she has to adapt herself to anything but her own disposition, the mother rarely, if ever, will have the energy and firmness to check the growing torrent of passions, stronger in proportion as the child gets older. And more than that, a mother who herself, in her early youth, has not been impressed with the necessity of obedience, which is the beginning and the great end of all education, can never develop the faculties of her daughter, and adapt them to the various circumstances of life.

But why should the schoolmistress understand this better, is the question which naturally suggests itself. The schoolmistress may often be as little adapted to the art of education as the mother herself; and, as we see from their prospectuses, they likewise hardly profess to give *education*, but simply offer large doses of all kinds of *instruction*. But in a place where many are to be taught, to be fed, and to be accommodated under one roof, discipline does not only spring from the theoretical rules of the house, but is the practical result of the exigencies of a variety of children compelled to live together from morning to night. The rougher their tempers are the more they will clash, but the more, likewise, they will chastise and correct each other; and thus the school itself, independent of the teacher, may remedy, to a certain extent, the neglect of discipline in early age.*

* Later I had also the good fortune to meet with some ladies, engaged as directors of schools, who are admirably adapted, by their talents and devotion, to this sacred calling. Their own personal influence on their establishment is such as to satisfy a mother's heart who places her darling there. But these ladies are exceptions; they give to their pupils education, whilst generally they get but instruction.

*Dec.* 14*th.*—To-day a quiet Sunday again; most welcome amidst busy New York, where during the week every one seems to rush and to run, and is very impatient when his passage is stopped by the coaches and omnibuses, and the cars running on the horse-railways through the town. And from dawn till dusk, and long after, still the carriages roll, how long I do not know, for I always fall asleep before their busy commerce has ceased. But to-day the thoroughfares are turned into walks, where people saunter about at leisure, following the tinkle of the bells, and the strains of the organs, calling them into churches of the most different denominations: Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Moravians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Universalists, Jews, Friends, Unitarians, Swedenborgians; and the emigrants too of all nations, with holiday-coats worn out, relics of their distant homes, enjoy the bright morning rays of the sun. To-day they do not look out for work, with anxious care, for to-day is the day of rest,—and rest to the body grants hope to the mind.

We were driving beyond the outskirts of New York to the Harlem-valley, and along our path we noticed detached cottages all of wood. Across the river, more solid abodes rise here and there, country-seats, I understand, but not to be compared in size or style to our feudal stone mansions in Europe. Wherever a couple of houses stand within the compass of half a mile, a steeple rises, and sometimes we see even two churches where there are no more than two houses close by; but the inhabitants belong to different denominations, and therefore attend different places of worship.

The landscape expands, and presents a picture of rural solitude, as we approach the aqueduct of the Croton water, the high bridge, which is boldly thrown across the Harlem-valley, here a quarter of a mile wide—and the river

of the same name—620 feet in breadth. This structure of solid granite singularly contrasts with the tame scenery around, and impresses one with a feeling of respectful awe for the energetic men who raised such a monument, solid and grand like the rocks of the mountains; and yet it forms only one link to the great chain of dams, canals, and reservoirs, which supply the town with water, so amply requiring it, not only for its most immediate use, but likewise not less to extinguish the conflagrations, which are so habitual that, except the firemen, no one seems to care for them, least of all the owners of the burning houses, who have always taken good care not to insure them under their value.

"Is it not a Roman work?" asked one of our American companions. "Roman, indeed," said an Englishman present, with a sneer; "your engineers seem to have forgotten the hydrostatic law, which the Romans never knew, that water in connected tubes rises everywhere to the same level. In England we carry the water with less architectural beauty, but at smaller cost, over hill and dale, simply upon this principle."

*Dec. 16th.*—The architecture of New York is the common street architecture of London; in fact, it is no style whatever. Though we do not meet with those dark rows of brick buildings without any decoration, built with no other purpose than that of investing money, and of getting a good rent, without any feeling for beauty, or even for ornaments; yet the same deficiency of original forms, and of harmonising proportions, which makes the streets of London so monotonous, is found likewise here in America. The houses are generally built on one and the same plan; they have no individuality. It seems the creative power has ceased entirely with the architects of our age; they either do not care anything about the

external beauty of the houses, or, in the best case, they copy with servile accuracy some ancient building, often without reference to the position of the original. More often they patch up different parts of classical buildings of all styles in an eclectic way, which unavoidably destroys the effect, as is the case with the City Hall. On the whole the houses are more substantial than in London. The brick-buildings of the Fifth Avenue (the West-end of New York) are superior to those in Belgravia, and many granite and marble façades bear evidence that the architect was not controlled by parsimony in the proprietor, and that it is probably not the fault of the latter if the wooden staircases are so narrow that two persons cannot pass at once, whilst on the continent of Europe the staircase becomes the ornament of the palace. The house most elegantly fitted up is unquestionably that of Mr. Haight, with an Italian winter garden, playing fountains, large saloons in the Parisian fashion, a drawing-room in the style of the Taj Mahal at Agra, a splendid library, &c., &c. You perceive at once that the owner of the house has travelled all over Europe, and likes to be surrounded with the recollections of everything he has seen abroad. The churches have nothing peculiar; modern church architecture is yet poorer than the street architecture, and not only the artist, who, in those times which we call the dark ages, built the unparalleled cathedrals, which for the beauty of proportions, and richness of decorations, remain the unequalled wonders of art; but even Palladio and his immediate scholars are unrivalled in our days.

But in the south part of New York we have beautiful temples, some of white marble, others of dark granite, evidently copies of the monuments of Athens. And who is the god whom they adore in those graceful structures? what shrine is it that occupies the place of Athenè Parthe-

nos, and of the Olympian Jupiter? It is god Mammon, to whom they have raised those temples; it is the almighty Dollar which is worshipped in those noble halls. This splendid amphistyle temple, with the forest of Doric columns, it is the *Exchange*—this other, the *Custom House*—and those graceful prostyle buildings, they are *Banks*.

We had a most pleasant dinner party, where we met Washington Irving, whose name, ever since I have been acquainted with English literature, was connected in my mind with such genuine freshness of conception, that I fancied the author of the 'Sketch Book,' and of the radiant pictures of the Alhambra, must remain always young. I was, therefore, rather childishly surprised to see a gentleman, on whose lofty brow years have impressed their traces, and to hear that he was the man whom my imagination had endowed with the unwithering vigour of youth, like Goethe, whose Jupiter frame was not bent by age. But listening to his conversation, full of hope and warmth, I found that my early impression had not been wrong. Washington Irving can as little grow old as his works—their covers may be worn out, but never their contents.

*Dec.* 19*th.*—It was a dark and chilly evening, when Mr. Levitt, the great banker of Brooklyn, whose wealth is connected with the prosperity of the city,—as the owner of large tracts of land in Long Island, bought before the city had extended on them,—came to take us there to a meeting, which was to congregate at the Plymouth Church. Whilst we drove to the Fulton Ferry, Mr. Levitt gave us an account of what Brooklyn had been a generation ago, when he settled there. Then it was a village, now it is a rising city, perhaps shortly a rival of New York, to which it is connected by ferry-boats,

so well managed that they carry on the busy intercourse of the city without delay or inconvenience ; it is even not necessary to get out of the carriage for steering across the floating bridge.

We found the church crowded, yet there was no pressure or noise; all appeared intent on the words of sympathy for the sacred cause of Hungary, uttered by the Rev. Doctor Bethune and Henry Ward Beecher, the brother of the author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' I was especially struck by the expression of energy in the address of Mr. Beecher, as well as in his countenance, which bears the stamp of the superiority acknowledged to distinguish the members of his family. I have repeatedly heard in New York, that the Beechers have a great influence on the intellectual movement of their country, and though sometimes they are reproached with eccentricity and ultra views, no one disputes their possession of a lofty turn of mind, brilliant talents, and the earnestness of purpose, which never fails to succeed.

After the meeting, we repaired to Mr. Levitt's house, where we were told that we should meet but a very few of his most intimate friends and relatives. These must be numerous, for the large mansion overflowed with people, so as to allow as little room for conversation amidst the bewildering buzz of the assembly, as freedom to movement in the midst of the pressure from all sides. It was as bad as in London, where the attraction of a party is thought to be in inverse proportion to its comfort. In London, a gentleman, who, with his lady hanging on his arm, works hard for three or four hours to thread his unnoticed way through all the apartments, till at last they are swept back to their carriage by the flood of departing guests, has at least his recompense and full share of pleasure on the following day, by reading his name in the 'Morning Post,' amongst the host of titled guests and dis-

tinguished foreigners at the delightful party at Lady * * * 's; but here in America it is different, there is no 'Morning Post' to publish the names, and therefore everybody must be introduced to everybody, and everybody must get in, and nobody must be allowed to get out before being presented to the distinguished guest of the evening, whom the party has been invited to meet. So the master of the house gives you his arm, and leads you all round and all through the apartments, and introduces you to innumerable Mr.'s and Mrs.'s and Misses, and even the Masters shake hands with you, until you have forgotten all the new friends who are happy to have made your acquaintance.

This is the general way in which parties are enjoyed, though exceptions are, of course, numerous; and we spent most pleasant evenings in elegant circles, large enough not to centralize conversation, and yet not so thronged as to interfere with the ease, without which no intercourse can be pleasant. I gladly remember the hours spent at several families in New York, especially at Mrs. Bancroft's. Here again I admired the attractive countenances of the majority of the ladies, as fresh and delicate as the blossoms which they wear, and which match their style of beauty uncommonly well. Their evening dress is more French than English, and therefore not so full stocked as to burden their graceful figures, which is the case out of doors, when furs and plumed bonnets, and immense muffs and veils, which they often do not raise even during a call, muffle them up as if they wished to be disguised.

When in the night we returned from Brooklyn, we found the large parlours on the second flight of the Irving House festively illuminated and decorated. The celebration of a marriage was here going on, with fiddling and dancing. The parents of the bride boarded in the house,

and I had repeatedly chanced to meet the mother in the passage; she had most cordially invited us, to join their gay assembly, and I now went into the ball-room, to witness what appeared to my European views very odd—nuptials at an hotel! If anything seems, by its nature, entitled to privacy, it is the family circle gathering round a young couple about to leave the paternal roof for their own hearth; and however happy the union, and however bright the prospects of the newly-married pair, they are taking leave of habitual associations, to enter upon a different life. And every farewell of this kind, if not sad, is connected with feelings intimately solemn, shunning the glance of a stranger, and the curiosity of the intruder.

It is true, that in the East likewise, at the occasion of a marriage, the house is thrown open to every one who wishes to unite in the joy of the festive event, which thus gets in some respect the character of publicity; but in the Eastern notion the man who tastes of your salt and eats of your bread, is no longer a stranger, hospitality consecrates him at once to a friend, and for that very reason, though hundreds may partake of the feast, it never can have anything common with an entertainment in a public place, where nobody can be excluded. For though a whole suite of apartments had been previously secured for the celebration of the marriage at the hotel, yet the doors of the parlours remained open, and were beset by curious gazers.

"Does she not look very pretty?" was the general remark, pointing to the bride, and then her appearance and the articles of her dress were admired and commented upon, just as if she were a heroine on the stage, appearing for public amusement and criticism.

Really those American hotels, with their communities of boarders, who live there for months and perhaps for years; meet daily in the parlour and at the dinner-table,

who therefore are not altogether strangers to one another, though not connected by any interest or sympathy, most strangely strike every European. A Frenchman might fancy himself in a Phalanstère of Mr. Fourier, but I must say I never could accustom myself to this want of privacy, and could not understand how it is possible for people who could have their own homes to live in a hotel. And yet there are thousands in the United States who always live in hotels; they marry there, they educate their children there, and die there, without ever having had a private home.

"Is it true that the Governor has received a deputation of coloured persons?" I was asked by a gentleman. I answered that I had heard of such a delegation having called on him.

"But you do not mean to say that he saw them?" continued Mr. * * *.

I expressed my astonishment at the doubt, as I could not understand how Kossuth, whose door was open to any one interested in the cause he pleaded, should shut out people because they were coloured. But my remark seemed to be quite as strange to the gentleman as his opinion appeared to me. To see coloured persons in a drawing-room, was obviously an offence against a prejudice of the aristocracy of colour, as deeply-rooted as the horror of high-born continental ladies for those whose pedigree cannot prove a range of sixteen noble ancestors. I could not refrain to tell to Mr. * * * as a parallel case, that one of those exclusive ladies in Vienna, who often was in want of money, and found herself obliged occasionally to receive a banker who transacted her business —had her drawing-room fumigated as often as that gentleman left it. She found the aristocratic air of her drawing-room was polluted by the breath of low-born persons, who were mere bankers.

But the American could not find out the parallelism of the case, and thought it monstrous that the relation of whites to whites should be compared to the relation of white men, free and equal, to coloured persons of an inferior race, slaves themselves, or at least the sons and descendants of slaves. No social intercourse on the basis of equality is possible with them, even in the Free States.

But it is not only the white man who looks down upon the black. From the dark mulatto to the hardly-tinged quadroon, every lighter shade claims a grade of pre-eminence, acknowledged by the full black and the white. A mulatto girl sewed for me in the hotel, and I soon remarked that one of the black waiters attended on her with uncommon courtesy, and brought her for her dinner every dainty the kitchen and the cellar afforded, as if ordered by us. I thought this extravagant, and told it to the housekeeper, who exclaimed, "The bad girl, to degrade herself so far as to accept attention from a black fellow!" This, then, was the great error, not that she had accepted a bottle of champagne, to which she had no right, but that she had accepted it "*from the black fellow!*"

*Dec. 20th.*—Mrs. Kingsland and Dr. and Mrs. Sayre took us to the Institution for the Blind. In the countenances of many of the pupils I noticed that calm and bright expression which proves that there is the light within which reveals the kindness of the Creator, though the rays of the sun cannot pierce through the darkened sense. One young person read to us a passage of the Scriptures, with such fervency of faith, that I felt she beheld with the heart what many do not see who decipher with the eye. Her enthusiasm for the cause of Hungary, and for Kossuth, was very striking; she warmly pressed Madame Kossuth's hand, saying, how much she had felt

for her sufferings, and admired her heroism; and her companions approached and pressed around us, listening with obvious interest. They then assembled round the piano, and joined in an ode, a welcome to Kossuth, composed by one of them. I asked what became of the poorer pupils educated here, after they leave the institution? and was told that some of them found employment as teachers in schools for the blind, others as organists, or as basket-makers. Yet there is often difficulty for the less advanced and energetic amongst them to get on, and, in consequence, a work-department had been added to the institution, where thirty-three blind persons, male and female, get constant employment with willow basket-making, carpet-weaving, and the manufacture of mats, mattresses, and brooms. The women manufacture also paper boxes, sew, and do fancy work. The married ones board and lodge at home with their families, whilst the institution furnishes only a home to those who cannot do better elsewhere.

Altogether, the whole establishment appears very practically arranged, managed with perfect regularity, without any superfluous show, which can nowhere be more ill-placed than in the abode of the blind.

*Dec.* 21*st.*—The meeting of the ladies in Tripler Hall, enthusiastic for the cause of Hungary and her great Representative, offered to me again a fresh aspect of New York society. The assembly was altogether different from the congregation in Brooklyn. I had the impression that most of those who energetically interrupted Kossuth's appeal to their sympathies with exclamations of approbation, had long been familiar with the merits of our struggle, which they had followed with that fervid interest connected with their remembrance of what their own forefathers had undergone. They seemed to be men working more with the hands than with the head, and for that

very reason, ever ready to stand by a cause they think righteous, without anxious criticism of details and personalities.

But here—so it appeared to me—the majority was composed of the fashionable members of society, whom a foreign cause hardly can rouse, unless embodied in an attractive personality. This impersonation now stood before them, and therefore they were strained to the height of enthusiasm; an enthusiasm, I believe, not quite so transient as might be expected from its nature; for wherever the Anglo-Saxon race prevails, no impression, powerful enough to raise their blood, can ever be easily effaced.

Kossuth, with the instinct of his genius, fully adapted his discourse to his audience. It was not in powerful features that he pictured the wrongs of his country, he appealed not to the judgment of those who were little familiar with the details of the subject, but he delicately delineated the noble spirit of the fatherland whose children bleed and suffer for its cause. His speech was a beautiful elegy, whose lovely accents swell into tragical pathos, and the key-note was given for the strain of sympathy which thrilled through every heart, and bedewed many an eye.

I was likewise highly interested with the speech of Mr. Bancroft. It was a fine effort of rhetoric, of an almost classical stamp. The conclusion, especially, was of matchless beauty. After having mentioned that it was the colonies of monarchical Greece which first instituted republicanism, and that their example was followed by the mother country, and having expressed his conviction that the time is coming when like causes will have again the same effects;—"Would you know," he proceeded, "what was the symbol of the near advent of this result? It was when our illustrious friend, sailing under the glorious banner of the Stars and Stripes, the tricolor of America, passed between the isles of Greece, then it was that the Nere-

ides of the Egean Sea clasped their hands for joy; then the sun looked out with splendour on the Parthenon; then the bees, as they gathered honey on Mount Hymettus, found the flowers possessed of unwonted fragrance; then the Muses, as they stood disconsolate on Mount Cithæron, rose up, and pointing to the field of Platæa, exclaimed with a voice to be heard throughout the world, Aristides, too, was an exile,—and the field of Platæa keeps the record of what a returning exile may do. We look to the future then with hope, we are firm in our belief, that Hungary will emerge from the lurid clouds which now overhang her; we are confident that we may yet welcome her in the clear light of the morning, shining as the star of the East; shining on the forehead of the morning sky, the brightest star of the firmament,—the day-star of republican liberty."

The Hon. George Bancroft is the late Ambassador of the United States in England, the celebrated historian of North America. He belongs to the Democratic party, but he is allied, by his amiable wife, to the principal Whigs in Massachusetts. His words give a fair specimen of the view American statesmen take of the state of things in Europe.

## IV. THE PERIODICAL PRESS IN NEW YORK CITY.

The enthusiasm created by Kossuth's arrival was unmeasured. Deputations from all parts of the country, and invitations to all the principal towns of the Union, arrived daily; it seemed, all classes of society were anxious to overwhelm him with honours and kindness, in order to make him forgetful of his country, and a happy citizen of the United States. But he openly announced at the first opportunity, that he did not come to seek comforts and a new home, but aid and support in his great enterprise—the liberation of Hungary. The astonishing facility with

which he expressed his thoughts in foreign languages, for he had to address deputations not only in English, but also in French, Italian, and German; the dazzling eloquence of his speeches, and the graceful manner in which he delivered them, startled even those professional politicians who did not like his views. The sympathy for the man who had struggled against two mighty empires, who had then been guarded against them by the Sultan at the risk of a war, and at last released by the combined efforts of the two free nations of the West,—was transferred from his person to his cause, the cause of Hungary, the keystone of European liberty. He seemed to be endowed with the gift of tongues: since Peter the Hermit and John Capistran, the world had not looked upon his like. His speech at the Municipal Banquet was universally admired, and the press, the bar, the militia, and the people of Brooklyn, the Democrats of Tammany Hall, the clergy, the students of Columbia College, and the ladies of New York, prepared banquets and meetings, to hear the eloquence of the great foreigner.

The press was full of his praises, and the Conservatives became somewhat alarmed. The 'Courier and Inquirer,' the organ of the silver-grey Whigs and of the Exchange —a paper with a circulation of about 2,000 copies a day,* —was anxious to involve Kossuth in a personal polemic. His attacks, however, on Hungary and her elected chief were not heeded, and when the editor endeavoured to prove that Kossuth had insulted him by denouncing, generally, the organs of Austrian diplomacy—he was laughed at. The first attack had failed. It was now planned to cool down the public enthusiasm by associating Kossuth with unpopular political parties. The Abolitionists, of

* It is conducted by General Watson Webb, who was sent by President Fillmore as Chargé d'Affaires to Vienna, but was recalled by the Senate, who would not confirm the nomination.

course, paid their respects to the man who had initiated and carried the emancipation of the peasantry from the pressure of feudal burdens, and a deputation of coloured persons came also with an address greeting the hero of European liberty.

The 'New York Herald' immediately seized the opportunity for identifying Kossuth with the Abolitionists of Garrison's party, and hinted that he was most heartily received by Freesoilers and Woolly-heads. It moreover construed his reception of the coloured men into a personal insult of a deputation of some distinguished citizens of Florida. Kossuth had to send a circular to the papers saying, that, consistent with his principle of non-interference with the domestic affairs of any foreign nation, he naturally does not enter into any discussion of the American domestic institutions; and Mr. John Calhoun, the chairman of the Florida deputation, published a most eloquent and elaborate letter in favour of Kossuth's principles. But it was easily to be seen that the 'New York Herald' desired to dam the tide of popular enthusiasm. It is a paper conducted with surprising tact; it has no principles whatever; it takes up and ridicules every question according to its whims, without any scruple; it has but one aim, to increase its circulation, to create excitement, to spread scandals, to make money. The Editor, Mr. Gordon Bennett, has succeeded so far, that the 'Herald' has a circulation of above 30,000 copies. He is an emigrant Scotchman, who hates England, and has no love for America. But he has studied the American character, he admirably flatters the prejudices and delusions of the masses, and has an instinctive aversion against everybody whose motives are not those of money-making. His paper is pervaded by a spirit of negations; nothing is positive with him except his predilection for slavery. His boast is, that he is the enemy of all *isms*, as he calls it; and there are many

practical, narrow-minded men in America, who, repeating this slang, think they protest only against mesmerism, socialism, communism, and abolitionism; not aware that the 'Herald' includes in these *isms*, republicanism, protestantism, and patriotism.

The 'New York Tribune' is in every respect a contrast of the 'Herald.' It is the organ of the Seward-fraction of the Whigs, advocating protection of American industry, supporting progress in every shape, giving a fair trial to every new theory, opening its columns to every one who thinks himself oppressed, to German philosophers, to French socialist discussions, to the rights of women, and even to the spiritual manifestations. Mr. Horace Greeley, the editor of this paper, earnestly seeks truth; he is always sincere in his opinions, never evading a question, upright, straightforward, conscientious. The circulation of his journal nearly equals that of the 'Herald,' though Gordon Bennett is better served by his correspondents, and is often a-head with the latest intelligence, and in point of spirited style surpasses the heavier articles of Greeley.

Whilst in polemic the weapons of the 'Herald' are the poison of calumny, and the dagger of treachery,* the 'Tribune' is armed with a club that knocks down his adversaries with rough blows. This paper sways over Western New York, the Northern and North-Western States, and all the back country; you find it everywhere, in the log-houses of the new settlements in Michigan and Wisconsin,

* As an instance of the good taste of the 'New York Herald,' we extract the following passage on the expedition to Japan:—"We are glad to hear that the proposed hydrographic survey of Japan is not turned over to the Dutch—glad that the heathen of those islands are not to be abandoned. In these days, nothing but bombshelling and bayonets will reclaim the Pagans of Japan. Let the gallant Commodore hurry up the good work. Brethren, let us pray."—It is to be observed, that the 'New York Herald *never did oppose the expedition against Japan*, and *that it is really a strong advocate of this measure.*

in Iowa and Minnesota. The domain of the 'Herald' begins where the 'Tribune' is excluded; it is the paper of the planter of the South, of the fashionable in the great cities, and of the men of society everywhere. All of them say they despise the paper, but they read it and buy it, and Gordon Bennett quotes Vespasian, 'Lucri bonus odor ex re qualibet.'

The "Evening Post' is the only democratic paper of New York, edited by the great poet, W. Bryant, and his accomplished son-in-law, Parke Godwin. It is a free-trade paper, and represents the liberal fraction of the democratic party, with free-soil tendencies. The pro-slavery whig paper is the 'Evening Express;' the 'Commercial,' and the 'Journal of Commerce' are written for the banks and offices; but the circulation of all these journals is very limited. The 'Sun' has the largest circulation, it is a cheap journal, written or rather extracted for the masses from all the other papers. The New York 'Daily Times,' also a cheap paper, ranks much higher, and is as widely spread as either of the great journals. It is a liberal Whig publication, less heavy and less theoretical, but not less sincere than the 'Tribune.' The editor, Mr. Will. H. Raymond, an amiable young man, of prepossessing manners, has already been the speaker of the house in the State of New York, and is probably destined to serve his state and his country in many higher positions.

## V. TITLES OR NICKNAMES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Nothing is more puzzling for a foreigner in English society than the titles. It is so difficult to know who is who; the son does not bear the name of his father, the younger brother not the name of his older brother, and the wife not always the name of her husband. And then there are

lords who are peers, and lords who are not peers; and again lords who are neither peers nor lords, but who are called so by courtesy; there are honourables and right honourables, reverends and right reverends, and nobody knows the real rank and precedency of a Roman Catholic bishop; there are lieutenants who are captains, and captains who are majors, and generals who are colonels, and the sergeants are barristers, and the barons are judges, and everybody is an esquire who wears a good coat, and every esquire who has made his name so prominent that he has at last got a title of nobility, immediately drops the name under which he has become known to the world, as if he was ashamed of his past;—really it is difficult for a foreigner not to make a mistake, or to address everybody in the becoming way.—I thought in America there is no such puzzling distinction in society; but to my great astonishment, I experienced that I had left the titled aristocracy, only to find across the ocean a titled democracy.

Only, instead of the civil titles, military titles prevail in the United States. As to the former, they are but few; the president, the ambassadors, and the governors of the States are addressed "Excellency," during the time of their office; but the governors retain the title of "Governor" for ever. The members of the senate at Washington are titled "Senators" during their term, and are for life styled "Honourables" together with the heads of departments, and the members of the House. The same title is given by courtesy to all those who are or were members of the state legislature in either House, and to all the judges, to whose name the designation of "Judge" is also always prefixed in conversation. But all this vanishes if compared with the innumerable military titles. Everybody belongs to the militia, and as the militia chooses the officers by ballot, the number of the militia captains, majors, colonels, and generals, is really legion; and all those cap-

tains, majors, colonels, and generals, are always addressed as such, though they are shopkeepers and mechanics, and lawyers and hotel-keepers, and journalists. All the nation is playing at soldiers; but when the war began with Mexico, all those militia officers fought bravely in the battles against a well-disciplined army, led by professional officers, and there is no doubt that a really military spirit pervades the nation.

But the Americans are not only fond of titles, they delight also in nicknames, which are seldom malicious, though a vein of irony is often discernible in them. There is perhaps no prominent man in the States who would not have a nickname, which in fact becomes his title of nobility, bestowed on him by the people. General Jackson was called *Old Hickory*, on account of his inflexible character; his diplomatic successor in the White House, Martin Van Buren, was known as the *Little Magician;* and his son, John Van Buren, remains until now *the Prince.* General Harrison was *Old Tip*, an abbreviation of Tippecanoe, where he had defeated the Indians under their prophet, the brother of Tecumseh. General Zachary Taylor was designated by the name *Old Zack*, *Rough-and-Ready;* and Henry Clay, as *the Millboy of the Slashes*, in remembrance of his origin. Webster is *the Great Expounder*, *the God-like*, or simply *Black Dan.* Corwin, the secretary of treasury, is *the Waggon-boy.* Thomas Benton, the great Missourian, is known as *Old Bullion.* Douglas, the democratic senator of Illinois, who is scarcely taller than Louis Blanc or Thiers, is the *Little Giant.* General Winfield Scott got his name of *Chippewa* from his victory over the English in the last war, and *Hasty Plate of Soup*, from an expression which slipt from his pen in one of his bulletins, written hastily on the ground where he defeated the Mexicans. General Houston, the late President of Texas, got his name of *San Jacinto* from the battle-field on

which he had taken prisoner the President of Mexico, Santa Anna, and all his army. General Cass, the distinguished Senator of Michigan, is the *Great Michigander*. Governor William H. Seward, the most influential party leader in the Whig ranks, is known as *Little Billy*, because he had defeated Governor Marcy in New York, by advocating the issue of smaller bills by the banks, when the democratic Marcy, true to his party principles, had vetoed the bill of the legislation in this respect.

But not only the great men, even the cities and the states have their nick-names, and they are familiar to every American. Washington for instance is *the City of magnificent distances;* New York the *Empire City;* Philadelphia the *Quaker City;* Baltimore the *Monument City;* Boston the *City of Notions*, or the *Puritan City;* Newhaven the *Elm City;* Buffalo the *Queen City of the Lakes;* Pittsburg the *Iron City;* Cleveland the *Forest City;* Cincinnati *Porkopolis*, or the *Queen City of the West;* St. Louis the *Mound City;* Louisville the *Fall City;* New Orleans the *Crescent City.* The State of New York bearing in its arms the rising sun, with the motto, "Excelsior," is the *Empire* or *Excelsior State;* Connecticut the *Free Stone State;* Massachusetts the *Bay State;* Vermont the *Green Mountain State;* New Hampshire the *Granite State;* Rhode Island *Little Rhoda;* Pennsylvania the *Keystone State;* Virginia the *Old Dominion*, or the *Mother of States and Statesmen;* Delaware the *Diamond State;* South Carolina the *Palmetto State;* Texas the *Lone Star State;* California the *Golden Region;* Mississippi the *Bayou State;* Louisiana the *Creole State;* and Kentucky the *Dark and Bloody Ground.* The inhabitants of Florida are *Cow-boys;* those of Ohio are called *Buckeyes;* those of Iowa *Hawkeyes;* and those of Illinois *Suckers;* the Missourians call themselves *Pukes*, the Indiana people *Hoosiers;* the Michiganians *Wulwereens*, and Wisconsinians *Badgers.* All those nicknames are

familiar to, and frequently used by, the Americans, and not only in jest; in the same way as they collectively accept the designation of *Yankees*, if this word is used in contradistinction to *English*. In the States themselves the Southerners and Westerners disclaim this appellation; they use it to designate the New Englanders, whilst in New England again every State disowns it, except Connecticut, which is proud to be the original *Yankee State*.

# CHAPTER III.

## COLONISATION—PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL CONFIGURATION OF THE UNITED STATES—PARTIES, AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS.

### I. COLONISATION.

THE question of colonisation and the establishment of New States, so important for every statesman, is not a new one, and the history of the colonies of antiquity and of the middle ages, gives us the most striking parallels with the present relations of the great empires. The history of conquest over civilized nations, who, after being emasculated by despotism or internal feuds, are overrun by some more powerful neighbour; and of the final amalgamation of conquerors and conquered,—is, of course, more striking, and occupies such a prominent position in the accounts of historians, that the slower but steadier and more lasting progress of civilisation by the establishment of colonies, is thrown into the background, and scarcely noticed in our compendiums, so far that, with the exception of the professional antiquaries and historians, there are very few who know the difference of principles in the establishment of the Greek, the Roman, and the Mediæval colonies. Common to them all is the admirable selection of site; wherever there is an important commercial point in Southern Europe, in Asia Minor, and along the shores of Northern Africa, you may be sure to find there the ruins of ancient settlements; wherever there is an important military position in the countries once under the sway of the Roman

Emperors, there you find also traces of Roman camps and military establishments.

The oldest colonies we know, are Phœnician, for the traces of Egyptian peculiarity in Athens, and the indisputable influence of Egypt on Greece, are not to be ascribed to colonisation, but to the superior civilisation of some bold adventurers, or perhaps, political refugees from the highly-cultivated Nile land, who imparted their knowledge to the receptive Hellenic tribes. The forcible abduction of great populations by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, can also not be named colonisation, but even this measure was copied as late as 1755, by the English, who tried to transport the whole of the French Acadians from Nova Scotia to the other provinces, though they succeeded but partially in this cruel and wanton attempt. With the Phœnicians, and after them the Greeks, the principle of colonisation was that of complete independence to the new settlement. The surplus of the population, or the discontented party defeated in the political struggles at home, went out to seek a new home as organised bodies, often led by an eminent noble. As soon as they found a place on the shores of the Mediterranean, or the Black Sea, they established themselves there as an independent and free commonwealth, in fact as a *republic;* they gave themselves their own constitution, adopted laws, and were not bound to the mother state by any other tie, than by that same moral obligation which subsists between the parent and the son who has established his own household. They therefore were the natural allies of the mother country, they never entered into a league or war against her; they had community of religious worship and of hospitality with her, and mourned over her calamities as if they were their own. But there was, in general, no attempt made by the mother state to maintain a supremacy over the colonies, nor did the colonies ever claim the protection of the

mother country as a matter of right. And under this system all the coasts of the Mediterranean, of the Euxine, and of the Chersonnese, were covered with flourishing cities, equal in wealth and commercial importance to their mother countries, able to defend themselves against the attacks of the surrounding barbarous tribes, and civilizing them soon by the benefits of commercial intercourse. Miletus, though herself under Persian supremacy, became the mother of full five scores of republican colonies, and the Greek spirit had ample space and opportunity to develop itself under the most different constitutions. This system was the school in which Europe was trained, and its result is the most fragrant bloom of the youth of mankind.*

After some partial deviations from the principle of free colonies under Imperial Athens and Sparta, a general alteration took place in this system, when Philip and Alexander had established the Macedonian rule, and conquest and military glory were to replace free institutions. The Greek cities founded in the Persian Empire by Alexander and his generals, who had become kings after his death, the Alexandrias, Antiochias, Seleucias, &c., were at the same time courts and camps, the centres of Greek refinement, of Greek learning, and of an absolute administration by Greek officials; and the head-quarters of a well-disciplined army, principally composed of Greeks, and wholly officered by Greeks. The natives remained in the enjoyment of their local institutions, of their civil laws, and of their religious freedom, as long as it did not interfere with the established principles of government, which, jealous of every symptom of national independence, relied only on the army and on the spirit of materialism which it fostered among the people. It was a state of things, in some points,

* Even Fynes Clinton, in his 'Fasti Hellenici,' breaks out with an admiration of the superiority of Greek colonisation over Spanish and English.

similar to the English rule in India; in others, to the present continental despotism.

The Roman colonies in Europe at large, originated in the camp: the head-quarters of the legions in Spain, Gaul, Germany and England became cities; their population was at first one of soldiers, partly the regular garrison, partly veterans who were retained for exceptional service, all of them Roman citizens and living under the laws of Rome. At this time of military government, useful work was not yet regarded as unbecoming to a soldier; and therefore highways and aqueducts and public monuments were raised by them. Basilicas, baths, and amphitheatres soon embellished the settlements, and villas, in which all the luxuries of Roman life were combined, in some measure comforted the commanding officers for their absence from the imperial city. But the centralising system of the Emperors drew all the moral forces of the provinces to Rome, where the life of the whole empire was concentrated; in the colonies it was as sullen as in the French colony of Algeria, which is established on the same principle.

The colonies of the middle ages are again different. They were originally commercial factories dependent entirely on the mother state, even when enlarged by the course of events into large empires. Exclusiveness and monopolies are the main features of those establishments, and therefore they were governed in the most absolute way, even when they proceeded from republics. The freedom of the mother country was never extended to the colonies, neither by Venice and Genoa,* nor by the Dutch States-general; the rights of the citizens ceased across the waters. There was no self-government in the colonies, because the great bulk of the settlers were there for com-

* Their colonies were principally along the shores of the Black Sea; Kaffa (Feodosic) was the most important of them.

mercial purposes only, with the view of making money and of enjoying it, as soon as possible, in the mother country, for which the colonies were but a mine of wealth. No attention whatever was paid to the moral condition of the settlement; but peace was most studiously preserved, lest the commercial interests should suffer.

The English plantations, in North America, were an exception to the general colonial rule in the middle ages. The charters, granted to them, were framed on the common basis of English local freedom, and even under the last Stuarts, they contained more liberal principles than those since acknowledged in England. In fact, at that time, the government did not interfere so much with the colonists as it does now, nor were the draughts of the charters manufactured in Downing Street; they were often settled in the colonies themselves, and sent to London merely for the royal sanction. The colonists were well aware of their own wants, and knew what kind of charters fitted them, and they increased and prospered in every way. But when the centralising principles of modern statesmanship were applied to North America, the separation became a matter of necessity. The colonists would have probably consented to be governed from the banks of the Potomac, but they knew too well that it was impossible to govern them properly from the banks of the Thames, where their material interests could not be known, and remained necessarily subordinated to the imperial policy.

The same reason deprived Spain of her American empire,* and the Braganza dynasty could not retain the imperial crown of Brazils, except under the condition of separating from Portugal, and establishing a *national administration*. The struggle which everywhere spread over the two continents of America, was not that of republican

* The "Plan of Iguala," the first revolutionary step in Mexico, invited the king or his brother to the American Empire.

principles against monarchy, but that of local independence against foreign rule, and against the exclusion of the native Americans from all offices of trust.* Had the royal Portuguese family not fled to the Brazils, when dethroned by Napoleon, or had King John not yielded to the demand of separation, this empire too would have become a republic, though here, as well as in all Spanish America, the monarchical and Roman Catholic principles of the mother country have taken strong roots. Even the English colonies were in the beginning of the quarrel not anti-monarchical, though they have been established on the democratic principle.

It is quite remarkable to see how every attempt has failed to establish in the English colonies, social and political institutions, analogous to those at home. Bureaucracy has been extended across the oceans, the centralising tendencies of the colonial office have done enough harm to the colonies, and to the imperial finances, but to transplant the aristocratical stamp of old England, was utterly impossible; the nobility would not go into the colony, to be snubbed by bureaucrats. An upper house, consisting of nominees of the crown, such as it is established in the majority of the colonies, is a tool of centralization, but not a nursery of aristocracy. The impossibility of making large grants of land pay rent, and perhaps the personal vanity of the English nobility, stood in the way of establishing a colonial hereditary nobility, local peers, who, in England, would have been lords without a seat in the Imperial Parliament, like the Irish or Scotch peers. Now it is too late for such a measure, which perhaps would have preserved the American States to the British Empire; and there can-

* In Mexico this took the ecclesiastical form. The leaders of the revolt were the lower clergy, who were exasperated at all the dignities of the Church being filled by native Spaniards. Hence the intense power of the Mexican clergy in the Mexican republic, whose interests they ruin.

not be any doubt that, when the ties between the Colonies and England shall be loosened, and in the course of time entirely dissolved, all those new States will be constituted without an aristocracy and without an established Church, on the same basis as the United States.

In the North American republic colonisation and the foundation of new States presents now no difficulties whatever;—there is no longer any problem to be solved. As long as the settlers in a new territory are too few to be able to establish a regular administration, the general government determines the boundaries of the territory, sends judges to it, and names the governor and his officials from amongst the settlers, who, in their turn, send a delegate to Congress, to represent their interests. As soon as their number increases, and their resources are somewhat developed, Congress authorises them to meet, by their elected delegates,* in convention, they adopt a constitution, and request that they may be admitted into the Union, which, provided that the constitution is republican, and consistent in its main features with the principles of the constitution of the United States, is always agreed to; and by admission into the Union each State gets its perfect sovereignty. The general Government has no desire to introduce uniformity in the constitutions, or the criminal or civil laws of the new States; the aristocracy of the South, the democracy of the West and North, and even the theocratical forms of the Mormons, in the territory of Utah, are not interfered with. The old States alter their constitution without difficulty or excitement, and every theory of legislation has a chance of being adopted, as an experiment, in one or other State. The United States are thus an unbounded field on which the energies of the spirit of mankind can easily develop themselves, unfettered by

* This is virtually the history of Virginia under James.

the traditions of the past and the fears of the future; and, since their separation from England, have enlarged themselves to an extent wholly unprecedented.

The progress of American civilisation towards the west, has, as it seems, a normal law of growth. "Up to the year 1840," says Colonel Gilpin,* "the progress, whereby twenty-six States and four territories had been established and peopled, had amounted to a solid strip of twenty-five miles in depth, added *annually* along the western face of the Union from Canada to the Gulf. This occupation of wild territory, accumulating outward like the annual rings of the forest-trees, proceeds with all the solemnity of a providential ordinance. It is at this moment sweeping onward to the Pacific, with accelerated activity and force, like a deluge of men, rising unabatedly, and daily pushed onward by the hand of God. It is from the statistics accumulated in the bureaus at Washington, the decimal census, sales of public lands, and assessments of state and national taxes, that we deduce with certainty the law of this deluge of human beings, which nothing interrupts and no power can stop. Fronting the Union on every side is a great army of pioneers. This vast body, numbering 500,000 at least, has the movements and obeys the discipline of a perfectly organized military force. It is every moment recruited by individuals, by families, and, in some instances, by communities, from every village, county, city, and state in the Union, and by emigrants from other nations. Each man in this moving throng is in force a platoon. He makes a farm on the outer edge of the settlements, which he occupies for a year, and then sells to the leading files of the mass pressing up to him from behind. He again advances twenty-five miles, renews his farm, is again overtaken, and again sells. As individuals fall out

* In a speech delivered in St. Louis, at a meeting in 1851.

from the front rank, or fix themselves permanently, others rush from behind, pass to the front, and assail the wilderness in their turn."

What has been the result? Another western man, Mr. Drake, answers:—"Sixty-two years ago, in 1790, the centre of population was twenty-two miles *east* of Washington city. In a single decade, we find the centre in 1800 to be thirty miles *west* of Washington; in 1820 it was seventy-one miles west of Washington; in 1830, one hundred and eight miles; in 1840, one hundred and sixty; and in 1850, it had crossed the Alleghany, and was planted down in the young state of Ohio."

"Previous to the late war with Mexico," continues Col. Gilpin, "this busy throng of pioneers was engaged at one point in occupying the peninsula of Florida, and the land secured by emigrant Indian tribes; at another in reaching the copper region of Lake Superior, and in absorbing Iowa and Wisconsin. From Missouri had gone forth a forlorn hope, to occupy Oregon and California; Texas was thus annexed, the Indian country pressed upon its flanks, and spy-companies reconnoitred New and Old Mexico. Even then, obeying that mysterious and uncontrollable impulse which drives the American nation to its goal, a body of the hardiest race that ever faced varied and unnumbered privations and dangers, embarked upon the track to the Pacific coast, forced their way to the end, encountering and defying dangers and difficulties unparalleled, with a courage and success, the like to which the world has rarely seen. Thus, then, overland sweeps this tide-wave of population, absorbing in its thundering march the glebe, the savages, and the wild beasts of the wilderness, scaling the mountains and debouching down upon the seaboard. Upon the Atlantic sea-coast, of high latitude, the pioneer force has thrown itself into ships, and found in the ocean fishery food for its creative genius. The whaling fleet is the

*marine force* of the pioneers' army. These two forces by land and sea, have both worked steadily onward to the North Pacific. They now re-unite in the harbours of Oregon and California, about to bring into existence upon the Pacific, a commercial grandeur, identical with that which has followed them upon the Atlantic.

"National war stimulates progress, for in those periods of excitement, the adventurers brush through the cobweb-laws spun by the metaphysics of peace. Then it is that the young pioneers, entering the armies of the frontier, rush out and reconnoitre the unpruned wilderness. During the revolution, little armies, issuing down the Alleghanies, passed over Kentucky, Tennessee, and the North-Western Territory. These new countries were reconnoitred and admired. With hardy frames, confirmed health, and recruited by a year or two of peace, these soldiers returned to occupy the choice spots which had been their bivouac and their camping grounds. From the campaigns of war grew the settlements of peace, and populous states displaced the wilderness. Another war came with another generation; armies penetrated into Michigan, Upper Illinois, and through Mississippi. The great Mississippi river, crossed at many points, ceased to be a barrier, and the steamboat appeared ploughing its yellow flood. Five great states, five territories, and three millions of people now emblazon its western side!

"And now again has come another generation and another war. The American armies have scaled the icy barriers of the 'mother mountain,' and the (Mexican) Andes. Hidden for a time in the mazes of their manifold peaks and ridges, they have issued out at many points upon the beach of the blue Pacific. Passing round by the great oceans, a military marine simultaneously strikes the shore, and lends them aid. Thus is the wilderness reconnoitred in war, its geography illustrated, and its con-

querors disciplined. The young soldiers, resting for a moment at home, resuming the civil wreath and weapons of husbandry, have sallied forth again, to give to the country great roads of commerce, and a sisterhood of maritime states on the new found ocean. Only a few years ago, the nation, misled by prejudices, regarded the great western worlds uninhabitable, and the new ocean out of reach. War came, a hundred thousand soldiers and as many citizens went forth, penetrated everywhere, and returned to relate in every open ear, the wonderful excellence of the climates and countries they had seen. Hence have come already those new states on this other seaboard, and the renewed vivacity of progress with which the general heart now palpitates. Will this cease or slacken? Has the pouring forth of the stream from Europe ever ceased since the day of Columbus? Has the grass obliterated the trails down the Alleghanies, or across the Mississippi? Rather let him who doubts, seat himself upon the bank of our magnificent river and await the running away of its yellow waters, for sooner shall he see this, than a cessation in the crowd now flowing loose to the western seaboard! Gold is dug; lumber is manufactured; pastoral and arable agriculture grow apace; a marine flashes into existence; commerce resounds; the fisheries are prosecuted; vessels are built; steam pants through all the waters. Each interest stimulating all the rest, and perpetually creating novelties, a career is commenced, to which, as it glances across the Pacific, the human eye assigns no term."

This glowing description of American colonisation, by a man who himself belongs to the first explorers of the overland route and of the Rocky Mountains, and who took part in the war against Mexico, is likewise a specimen of western eloquence, and bears the stamp of the energy

which pervades those pioneers of civilisation whom he describes.

But the way and progress of colonisation in America has been prefigured and determined by the physical configuration of the Western continent, which arrests the attention of the philosophical observer by its peculiarity.

## II. PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

By her natural configuration, America is entirely different from the old continent. In central Europe the principal chains of mountains, as the Pyrenees, the Alps, Carpathians, and the Balkan, run east and west, forming walls against the northern winds, and the many other intersecting ranges which radiate from the central trunk in other directions, divide the continent into many water-basins, each different in its principal features. On the contrary, all the mountain ranges of North America—as, first, the White and Green Mountains, the Catskills, Alleghanies, and Apalachians, which form the eastern mountain range; next the central Sierra Madre (Rocky Mountains), and then the western range of the Nevada—run in a south-northern direction, dividing the country into four unequal parts: the eastern sea-coast, bordered by the Atlantic and the Alleghanies; the great Mississippi Basin,* up to the Rocky Mountains; the table-lands included between them and the Snowy Mountains, and the sloping sea-coast of the Pacific. The cold northern winds from the Pole sweep occasionally through the two former of these valleys, and so do the warm breezes of the Mexican Gulf, making the temperature colder in win-

* The Americans say always the Mississippi valley, whilst it would be more correct to call it the basin of the Mississippi.

ter and hotter in summer, and altogether more variable than in Europe.

The eastern sea-coast is the smallest but the most renowned of these natural subdivisions of America; it contains the old thirteen original States, with their merchant and planter population, and commercial interest. Less than one-half of the Mississippi valley is occupied by the western agricultural States, which, by and by, will multiply and extend up to the table-land. The woodless dry table-land, with its poorer soil, rich only in coals and salt, is destined to be peopled by shepherds, forming here a succession of pastoral States, whilst Oregon and California combine the agricultural, mining, and commercial interests of the eastern shore, and of the great west.

Colonel Gilpin, a man whose comprehensive mind, and indomitable energy, may yet give him an important place in his country, describes the natural features of North America in the following very graphic way—surveying first the basaltic formation from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and then the calcareous Atlantic region.*

"The chain of the Andes, debouching north from the Isthmus, opens like the letter Y, into two primary chains, or Cordilleras. On the right the Sierra Madre (Rocky Mountains), with their *Piedmont*, the Black Hills, which mask the front of the Sierra, trending along the coast of the Mexican Gulf, divides the Northern Continent almost centrally,† forming an unbroken water-shed to Behring's Straits. On the left the Andes follow the coast

* The reader will excuse the lengthy quotation; but the subject has not yet been treated sufficiently, and the views of a man, who had formed them on the spot, deserve attention so much the more as they are given in an attractive form.

† Colonel Gilpin takes the Black Hills for a Piedmont of the Rocky Mountains,—a plateau rent and torn by the fissures of innumerable streams. Taking this view, he is correct in his statement; the Black Hills being nearly at equal distances from New York and San Francisco.

of the Pacific, warp around the Gulf of California, and passing along the coast of California and Oregon, under the name of Sierra Nevada, terminate also near Behring Straits. The immense interval between these chains is a succession of intramontane basins, and forms the great platform of table-lands. The two first of these basins, in the territory of the republic of Mexico, have no outlet to either ocean, and their waters are dispersed by evaporation; the third is the Basin del Norte, whose vast area feeds the Rio del Norte, the Conchos, and Pechos. These, concentrated into the Rio Grande, have, by their united volume, burst through the outer wall of the Sierra, and found an outlet towards the Atlantic. The next, the Basin of the Great Colorado of the West,—the most unknown part of the United States, embraces *above* the great rivers Rio Verde and Rio Grande, whose confluent waters, penetrating the mighty Cordillera of the Andes athwart from base to base, discharge themselves into the Gulf of California. Into this sublime gorge, the *Cannon of the Colorado*, the human eye has never swept for an interval of 375 miles. After this, the basin of the Great Salt Lake, like the Caspian of Asia, containing many small basins within one great, and losing its scattered waters by evaporation, has no outflow to either ocean. The sixth is the Basin of the Columbia, lying across the northern flanks of the two last, grand above them all in position and configuration. Many great rivers, besides the Snake and Upper Columbia, descending from the great arc of the Sierra Madre, where it circles towards the north-west, from the 43d to the 52d degree, concentrate above the *Cascades*, into a single trunk, which strikes here the mighty Cordillera of the Andes, narrowed to one ridge, and disgorges itself through this pass into the open Pacific. It is here, descending by the grade of this river, from the rim of the Valley of the Mississippi, that the great débouché of the

American Continent towards the West is formed, and here will be the pathway of future generations, as the people of the Old World pass down the Mediterranean, and out by Gibraltar. Above, the basin of Frazer River forms a seventh table-land, and sends its waters through the Andes to the Pacific.

"With the geography of the more northern region we are imperfectly acquainted, knowing however that from Puget's Sound to Behring Straits the wall of the Andes forms the beach itself of the Pacific, whilst the Sierra Madre forms the western rim of the basins of the Saskatchewan of the Hudson Bay, and of the MacKenzie of the Arctic Seas. Thus then briefly we arrive at the cardinal department of the geography of the continent, viz., the table-lands—being a longitudinal section about two-sevenths of the whole area intermediate between the two oceans, but walled from both, and having but three outlets for its waters, the Rio Grande, the Colorado, and Columbia.

"Columnar basalt forms the basement of this whole region, and volcanic action is everywhere prominent. Its general level is about 6000 feet above the sea. Rain seldom falls, and timber is rare. The ranges of mountains which separate the basins are often rugged and capped with perpetual snow, whilst isolated masses of great height elevate themselves from the plains. Such is the region of the table-lands; beyond these is the maritime region, for the great wall of the Andes, receding from the beach of the Pacific, leaves between itself and the sea a half valley, as it were, forming the seaboard slope, across which descends to the sea a series of fine rivers, like the little streams descending from the Alleghanies to the Atlantic. This resembles and balances the maritime slope of the Atlantic side of the continent, from the Alleghanies to the sea; it is of the highest agricultural excellence, basaltic in

formation, and grand beyond the powers of description, the snowy points of the Andes being everywhere visible from the sea, whilst its climate is entirely exempt from the frosts of winter.

"Such, and so grand, is our continent towards the Pacific. Let us turn our glance towards the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans, and scan the geography in our front. *Four* great valleys appear, each one drained by a river of first magnitude. First, the Mississippi valley, greatest in magnitude, and embracing the heart and splendour of the continent, gathers the waters of 1,500,000 square miles, and sheds them into the Gulf of Mexico; second, the St. Lawrence, whose river flows into the North Atlantic; third, the Nelson and Severn Rivers into the Hudson's Bay; and fourth, the great valley of the MacKenzie River, rushing north into the Hyperborean Sea. These valleys, everywhere calcareous, have a uniform surface, gently rolling, but destitute of mountains, and pass into one another by dividing ridges, which distribute their own waters into each valley, but whose superior elevation is only distinguishable among the general undulations by the water-sheds they form. Around the whole continent, leaving a comparatively narrow slope towards the oceans, runs a rim of mountains, giving the idea of a vast amphitheatre. Through this rim penetrate, towards the south-east and north, the above great rivers only, forming at their débouchés the natural doors of the interior; but no stream penetrates west, through the Sierra Madre, which forms an unbroken water-shed from the Isthmus to Behring Straits. Thus we find more than three-fifths of our continent to consist of a limitless plain, intersected by countless navigable streams, flowing everywhere from the circumference towards common centres grouped in close proximity, and only divided by what connects them into one homogeneous plan.

"To the American people, then, belongs this vast interior space, covered over its uniform surface of 2,300,000 square miles with the richest calcareous soil, touching the snows towards the north, and the torrid heats towards the south, bound together by an infinite internal navigation, of a temperate climate, and constituting in the whole the most magnificent dwelling-place marked out by God for man's abode.

"There we perceive in the formation of the Atlantic part of the American Continent, a sublime simplicity, a complete economy of arrangement singular to itself, and the reverse of what distinguishes the ancient world. To understand this, let us compare them.

"Europe, the smallest of the grand divisions of the land, contains in its centre the icy masses of the Alps; from around their declivities radiate the large rivers of that continent, the Danube directly east to the Euxine, the Po south-east to the Adriatic, the Rhone south-west to the Mediterranean, the Rhine to the Northern Ocean. Walled off by the Pyrenees, and Carpathians, and the Ural, divergent and isolated are the Tagus, the Elbe, the Vistula, the Don, and Volga, and other single rivers, affluents of the Baltic, of the Atlantic, of the Mediterranean, and of the Euxine. Descending from common radiant points, and diverging every way from one another, no intercommunication exists between the rivers of Europe; navigation is petty and feeble, nor have art and commerce, during many centuries, united so many small valleys, remotely isolated by impenetrable barriers. Hence upon each river dwells a distinct people, different from all the rest in race, language, habits, and interests. Though often politically amalgamated by conquest, they again relapse into fragments from innate geographical incoherence. The history of these nations is a story of perpetual war.

"Exactly similar to Europe, though grander in size and populations, is Asia. From the stupendous central barrier of the Himalaya and the table-land of Tartary run the great rivers of China,* the Blue and the Yellow, due east to discharge themselves beneath the rising sun; towards the south run the rivers of India, the Indus and Ganges, with their tributaries; towards the west, the Oxus and Jaxartes; and north to the Arctic Seas, the four great rivers of Siberia. During fifty centuries, as now, the Alps and the Hindukush have proved inseparable barriers to the amalgamation of nations around their bases, and dwelling in the valleys which radiate from their slopes. The continent of Africa, as far as we know the details of its surface, is even more than these split into disjointed fragments.

"Thus the continents of the Old World resemble a bowl placed bottom upwards, which scatters everything poured upon it, whilst Northern America, right side up, receives and gathers towards its centre whatever falls within its rim.

"Behold then the future of America graven in the geographical lines and arteries of her symmetrical ocean-bound expanse! Behold it foretold in the oracular prophecies of past and present progress!

"America, in geography the antithesis of the Old World, will remain the same in society. Our country will rapidly attain to a population equalling that of the rest of the world combined, forming a single people, identical in manners, language, customs, and impulses, preserving the

* The rivers of China are comparable to the Mississippi. China is a large empire, a world in itself, yet her natural configuration, similar to the Mississippi valley and the adjoining country, led to centralisation and stagnation. Europe resisted this for a long time, by the very peculiarity marked as undesirable by Colonel Gilpin; he seems to have sympathy with centralisation.

same civilisation, imbued with the same opinions, and having the same political liberties. Of this we have two illustrations now under our eye, the one passing away, the other advancing. The aboriginal Indian race, amongst whom, from Darien to the Esquimaux, and from Florida to Vancouver's Island, exists a perfect identity in their hair, complexion, features, stature, and language;* and second, in the instinctive fusion into one language, and one new race, of immigrant Germans, English, Irish, French, and Spanish, whose individualities are obliterated in a single generation.

"Climate distinctly controls the migrations of the human race, which has steadily adhered to an isothermal line around the world. The extremely mild climate of our Western seaboard is only the consequence of the same great laws of nature which operate in Western Europe. These are the regular and fixed ordinances of the code of nature, to which the migrations of man, in common with the animal, yield an instinctive obedience. Within the torrid zone and up to 30 degrees of the northern hemisphere blow the trade winds, and 'variables' constantly from the east and north-east all around the world, but the upper halves of the elliptical orbits followed by the winds, lie in the temperate zone, from 35 to 60 degrees, within which the winds flow constantly from the west to south-west. These winds reach the western coasts of America and Europe, after traversing the expanse of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Warmed to the same temperature as these oceans, they impart again this same mild atmosphere to the maritime fronts of the continent which receive them. The same winds passing onward over

* Colonel Gilpin goes too far in this respect; they belong to the same race; they are all beardless, but the colour of their hair, skin, and eyes varies. The language, too, belongs to the same stock, but no two tribes can understand each other.

great extensions of continent of low temperature, covered with snow and frozen during winter, often warped upward by mountain ranges, becoming exhausted of their warmth, have upon the eastern portion of both hemispheres an exactly opposite effect upon the climate. Hence the different temperature of New York and Lisbon, which face one another on the opposite coasts of the Atlantic—of Pekin and San Francisco, similarly opposite on the Pacific. At San Francisco and Lisbon the seasons are but modulations of one continuous summer, at New York and Pekin winter suspends vegetation during six months, whilst ice and snow bridge the land and waters. These four cities are all close upon the same parallel of latitude, the 40th degree."

It is remarkable that the largest number of important cities are situated under about the same latitude, between 39 to 41 degrees—Pekin and Samarkand, Constantinople and Naples, Madrid and Lisbon, New York and San Francisco. "It is within a belt of the earth straddling the 40th degree of north latitude," says Col. Gilpin, "that the greatest mass of land surrounds the world, and where the continents most nearly approach. Within this belt, from 30 to 50 degrees, four-fifths of the human race is assembled, and here the civilised nations, of whom we possess any history, have succeeded one another, commencing at the farthest extremity of Asia and forming a zodiac towards the setting sun. This succession has flowed onward in an even course, undulating along an isothermal line, until in our time the ring is about to close around the earth's circumference by the arrival of the American nation on the coast of the Pacific, which looks over on Asia.

"It is here manifest how in Asia the masses of populations lie below the 40th degree, in Europe above, and again so far in America, curving downward on the eastern face of our continent, to rise again to the north upon the warm

coast of the Pacific. Thus has the zodiac of nations, our own nation similarly with the rest, pursued a serpentine line of equal temperature, retaining all around the world similar employments, similar industrial pursuits, similar food and clothing, requiring similarity of climate, and recoiling alike from the Torrid and the Arctic Zone."

It is a well known fact, that civilisation is the result of frequent intercourse of different nations, and of the exchange of ideas and experiences between them. The sea, therefore, the great pathway of commerce and intercourse, has always been the great civilizer of mankind. The coasts of the Mediterranean have been the cradle of science and of religions, the starting point for progress in antiquity; and the islands, the deep bays, and inlets of Greece, which brought commerce into the centre of the Peninsula, made this happily articulated country the centre of ancient civilisation. The great navigable rivers had a similar effect on mankind by the same reasons, and the outlet of the Yellow and Blue Rivers, of the Ganges and Indus, of the Euphrates and of the Nile, were similar centres of commerce, wealth, arts, and science, whilst the rigid forms of the coasts of Africa, without deep bays, and great navigable rivers, without a chain of islands around it, without protruding peninsulas, —bridges for commercial intercourse,—has remained until now a barren barbarous wilderness, obstructing all progress by its natural configuration. Russia, too, has an unfavourable position, her greatest rivers run towards the inhospitable Arctic Seas, bound by barriers of ice, and the Wolga disgorges his magnificent waters into an Inland Sea, without ebb and flood and an outlet. Her commerce and people, curtailed by nature of the cheapest means of locomotion, must remain stationary, with the exception of the basin of the Don and Dnieper, and the shores of Crimæa and the Euxine, the country of the Cossacks, who

likewise are in every respect a superior race to the Moscovites. But as well as politically, the United States are also geographically the reverse of Russia, and their water communications surpass even those of Southern and Western Europe. On their Eastern boundaries, the great Massachusetts Bay, the estuary of New York, the Delaware, and Chesapeak Bay, are destined by nature to be the seats of commerce and civilized art; on their northern frontier the series of the mighty soft water lakes, the Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior, has become a natural pathway of commercial intercourse, deeply extending into the heart of the continent, in importance for mankind, second only to the Mediterranean Sea, and like this, surrounded by a garland of flourishing cities. But the most important feature of these lakes is, the absence of any mountain range to divide them, either from the Atlantic or from the basin of the Mississippi; short canals have connected the waters of the Erie on one side with the Hudson, and by this river with NewYork Bay; on the other with the Ohio, Mississippi, and Gulf of Mexico. Other canals partly constructed, partly in construction, lead the waters of the Ontario down to the Hudson, and those of the Michigan by the Wabash to the Ohio; the watershed between the lakes and the great valley of the Mississippi is imperceptible, and everywhere easily surmounted without extraordinary means of engineering.

But the most important feature of American hydrography is the Mississippi itself. This immense river, rather connected with, than separated from, the basin of the lakes, runs from the forty-seventh degree north, along almost the same meridian of longitude,—a course of 2,600 miles, till it discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, receiving in its course the waters of innumerable tributaries. The waters of the Alleghanies are carried down by the beautiful Ohio and its tributaries the Kanawha, Cumberland, and Ten-

nessee; the Rocky Mountains send their waters by the mighty Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Red River. Messengers from the four quarters of the continent, to use the poetical words of Mr. Charles D. Drake, they bear their watery burdens to cast into the channel, through which flows the rushing flood of the father of waters, which, in its course of 2000 miles, from the Falls of St. Antony to Balize, receives the waters of 10,000 miles of direct tributaries, of which 5000 miles are navigable,—and those of 8000 miles of indirect tributaries, of which again 5000 are known to be navigable, but the future will doubtless show that that computation falls far short of the reality. We are, therefore, safe in saying, that this flood and its tributaries, direct and indirect, amount to at least 13,000 miles of navigable waters, a net of natural communications over eighteen States and three territories. An area of 800,000 square miles, and eleven and a half millions of people, are directly connected with, and interested in, this great stream,—more than half of the States of the Union, more than half of its organised territories; and about half of its people. Five of those States belong to the original thirteen, to the Atlantic commercial sea-coast States; and again seven are planter States, and six agricultural free States. All the different interests of the Union are connected with the Mississippi, which, therefore, by its tributaries, and the canals which connect it with the lakes and the East, becomes the most important tie of the Union, fastening the south to the north, and the east to the west. By the connection of the Ohio with Lake Erie, and of Lake Erie with the Hudson, it has become the great artery of North America, which carries life through all its limbs, the great channel of inland commerce with the two outlets, New York and New Orleans, and the great commercial cities of Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, along the banks. "Place yourself, in imagination," says Mr. *Drake*, "*at the* mouth of our river, and look at

it and its tributaries on the map of this continent. See how like a mighty tree it stands, its head towering up nearly to the frigid zone,* its roots striking down nearly to the tropic, its giant branches stretching far and wide over the land from east to west, embowering beneath their dense and refreshing shade millions of freemen, united in interest, in government, in language, and in destiny. There it stands, inviting the oppressed of all nations to take refuge under its verdure, while its grateful odours float over the world, arousing the nations that groan under despostism to a sense of their rights, and inspiring them with courage to assert and maintain them."

Such are the principal natural features of the immense country which acknowledges the constitution of the United States as her organic law, so entirely different in the main features from the constitutions of Europe.†

## III. POLITICAL CONFIGURATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Before the fifteenth, sixteenth, and even eighteenth centuries, the nations of Europe differed much more in respect to the forms of government than now. Though nearly all of them were constitutional, the checks and balances were different in every country, according to the requirements of the people and its historical development. But the intermarriages and the standing armies of the princes in all the great realms of Europe, swept those constitutional restraints away in the short space of a century. England was the only country which did not lose, but strengthened, her free institutions in the struggle between the Crown and

* Pembina, the farthest settlement in Michigan towards the north, has, under 49 degrees northern latitude, a Siberian climate.

† 'The Mission of the Mississippi.' A speech delivered by Mr. Drake, at St. Louis.

the Parliament; and as her power and wealth increased rapidly, whilst the despotically ruled nations lost their former influence soon after the overthrow of their freedom, England was held up by the philosophers of the eighteenth century as the prototype of a constitutional monarchy. Therefore, when, during and since the great French Revolution, constitutions were devised for the different nations of Europe, they were always shaped, or at least said to be shaped, according to the English model,* though it is fully understood that the English aristocracy is peculiar to the English, and that this institution, and the aristocratic spirit and legislature in respect to landed property, does not, and cannot exist anywhere on the continent. The study of public law has by this means become very much abridged, and the word constitution got a quite conventional meaning amongst the journalists, and professional politicians, viz., a combination of a King and a Parliament consisting of Peers and Commons. The result of this combination in England was, that the Crown in conjunction with the Parliament destroyed, little by little, the municipal life, and introduced the uniformity of centralisation; that on the other side, the Parliament, backed by the masses, curtailed the traditional prerogative of the Crown, until at length *parliamentary omnipotence* was established, the representatives of a portion of the nation and the hereditary peers exercising the most unlimited legislative power, leaving for the Crown but the theoretical right of the veto, the choice of the ministry from amongst one of the two aristocratical parties of the Parliament, and the dissolution of

* This was the case in France in 1789, 1815, and 1830; in Portugal, in Spain, in Belgium, in Holland, in Piedmont, in Greece, in the different German States, in Sicily, and in Naples for the short time it had a constitution. Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, are the only exceptions at the present time, their constitution bearing no internal affinity with the English.

the latter. Towards the nation, Parliament is yet less checked. The member has, in fact, to give a palatable speech to his constituency before his election; but, generally speaking, he has not much to care for the opinion of the electors. He can absent himself at every important occasion, and he may vote against the wishes of his constituents, for he cannot be called to account; not to mention the inequality of the constituencies, which are so arranged as to give in every case a large majority of the seats in the House of Commons to the aristocracy of the country. Theoretically, it is a very illogical constitution, but practically, it works reasonably enough, because it does not obstruct the development of the nation, whose mind is sound, and whose character is sober and moral; and therefore even the faults of the constitution become of value, as there is always something to be mended, and the great community can rejoice every year that their matchless constitution has again been improved.

For the Continent, the combination of King, Peers, and Commons, has a somewhat different meaning, according to the notions even of the English liberal newspapers and statesmen. In England, it means parliamentary omnipotence; on the Continent merely the omnipotence of the Crown, under the screen of legislative forms. In England, the government must retire, if defeated in the Commons after the appeal to the people by a dissolution, and the Crown must take its advisers from the opposition. On the Continent, on the contrary, the Commons must submit after a dissolution, lest the Crown declares that "it is impossible to go on with this constitution," and abolishes it altogether, rather than to give up an unpopular minister or measure. The philosophy of English constitutionalism is evidently, that the government and a majority of Parliament must be of the same principles; if there arises a difference of opinions between them, the one of the two must

yield, otherwise it would be impossible to avoid either a revolution or a *coup d'état.*

According to this theory, all the European journals predicted the French catastrophe long before it happened. The constitution of 1848 was criticised most severely for establishing two supreme powers—one legislative, the other executive—both responsible to the people, but neither of them so far superior to the other as to have the means of forcing the other to give way. The President not having the power of dissolving the Assembly, an eventual collision could have no termination but in a revolution or a coup d'état, in order to prevent a standstill of the administration. The leading English journals were not at all averse to the principle of the latter. Had Louis Bonaparte re-established liberty in some other form, and without wanton ferocity, they would have forgotten the perjury inherent in a coup d'état, and easily pardoned it; it was his slaughters, his proscriptions, deportations, confiscations, and the restriction of the press, which aroused the English papers in battle array against the successful usurper.

It was but a few days after the arrival of the tidings about the 2d of December, that I came to Washington, under the impression of the coup d'état, and of all the previous diatribes on the inevitable consequences of a collision between the executive power and the Legislative Assembly, which, in all the papers of Europe, preceded the tragedy of Paris. But when I inquired about the constitution of the land and the party statistics in Washington, I found, to my great astonishment, two supreme powers established, both issuing from the universal suffrage of the nation, the executive and the legislative, the President not having the power of dissolving the Congress; and actually, I found a Whig President, surrounded by aWhig ministry, whilst the Whigs were in a considerable minority in the Senate as well as in the Assembly, and yet nobody seem-

ed to be afraid either of a revolution, or of a coup d'état, or of a standstill of the administration. The reason is, that neither the President nor the Congress has anything to do with the government of the individual States, which govern themselves as sovereign States. The executive and Congress have but the general direction of the Union, not its government, in the European sense of the word. The President has no nomination, nor any share whatever in the election of the officials of any State, nor has the Congress the power to interfere with the way in which the administration and legislation of the individual States is going on.

I saw at once the difference of the basis of the constitution in America and Europe: in America they do not know anything about parliamentary omnipotence; in Europe, nothing about the inviolability of municipal autonomy, developed in America as State rights. I had later often the opportunity to see how the constitution of the United States leaves perfect freedom to each State, and how this admirable arrangement suits the wants of a country whose climate, population, and interests are so much at variance, and which occupies the whole extent of a continent from 28 to 49 degrees north latitude. The freedom and sovereignty guaranteed by the constitution to the individual States gives to the Union so sound and broad a basis, that all the alarm about its dissolution, which excites the people at certain intervals, turns out to be void of any serious foundation. And yet this constitution was framed at a time when the Union comprised merely the eastern sea-shore States, and had scarcely extended over the Alleghanies! Even the boldest statesman amongst the framers of the constitution could not anticipate that their work was to be recognised as the organic law over the whole temperate zone of North America. There is something providential in this most important social arrangement.

Never did the Americans aim at a uniformity like the French, or even like the English; never at concentrating the legislative power in the Congress; each State's legislature makes and unmakes the civil and criminal laws for the State. They contract debts and tax themselves as they please; they regulate their banking system and financial administration; they provide for the education. Each State has its own full sovereignty, with the exception of a few powers ceded to the general government. They gave up the right to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation with another State or foreign power, or engage in war, coin money, or lay duty on imports, exports, or tonnage.—To pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility, to make a law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances;—all these points are forbidden to each State, as well as to the Congress of the Union. The right of the people to bear arms cannot be infringed by Congress, and the trial by jury is secured to every person.

So far, and not farther, has the sovereignty of the States been curtailed by their own assent, and the latitude which each of them retained for the expansion and free action of the spirit of the people, has produced a different development of the nation in the different groups of States. In fact, if we analyse the character of the people in the different parts of the Union, we shall find that there are four great republics in the United States, four great groups of States combined in the Union, each of them of a peculiar national stamp: New England, the Middle States, the South, and the West.

1. New England comprises the States of Maine, Massa-

chusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont, peopled by the descendants of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, by the Sons of the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth Rock. It is as classical a land of liberty as Marathon or Thermopylæ. It is the home of the free-schools—an educational system utterly unconnected with the church, which puts science within the reach of every individual without exception; it is the country of the manufacturers, of the fishers at Newfoundland, of the whalers of the Arctic and Antarctic. The citizens of New England, and especially those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maine, have retained something of the character of their ancestors, who did not consider themselves as subject to any laws, excepting those of reason, equity, and scripture, and had modelled their government originally according to their own pleasure. They are hitherto the freest commonwealth on earth, all their towns and cities being so many republics, taxing and governing themselves in their primary meetings. The cold, puritanic aversion to all public enjoyment which is not principally intellectual, the deepest religious feeling without any intolerance (though mingled with some instinctive repugnance against Roman Catholicism), industry, temperance, sobriety, and earnestness of purpose—are features characteristic of them. But there is also a lack of imagination among them, and the onesided development of the mere understanding has made them the shrewdest people on earth, always eager for getting information and money. It is especially here that public opinion does not endure anybody whose life has no specific aim; everybody must work; he must make or lose money; society does not tolerate an idle life of enjoyment. In Europe, a contemplative life without cares, a secure income and its undisturbed enjoyment, the "*otium cum dignitate*" of the Roman, is too often the aim of life, and any other employment than war or government is thought

unbecoming for the aristocracy. In New England, the curse of the Lord, that "Man shall eat bread in the sweat of his face," has been turned into blessing; to work is an honour, and no kind of work or labour dishonours. It is difficult to explain to the New Englander how it comes to pass, that a lawyer or a banker may become a lord in England, whilst no lord ever can become, or even remain a lawyer or a banker. The nucleus of the aristocracy in Europe is derived from the chiefs who swayed over hosts of serfs, working for, and ruled and protected by them; the democratic society of New England was established on the ground of equality and labour. Their soil is poor, but their schools and colleges are superior to those of the rest of the Union, and wealth and intelligence have been diffused all over New-England. There is no ragged person, no decaying cottage to be seen; three-fourths of the teachers in the schools of North America are New Englanders, and whenever you see a rising commercial city, or a flourishing manufacturing establishment in the West or South, you will find also a strong infusion of New England blood.

2. The Middle States—New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and, by her geographical position, New Jersey, are the seat of the great commercial interests, represented by the cities New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati. Their population was originally less homogeneous than in New England, for every part of Great Britain and Ireland, the Netherlands, all Germany and Sweden, have furnished their quota to the formation of this new people, whose character is excitable in politics, lively in society, gambling in speculation. Their cities, their press, their politics, are not provincial but imperial; their exchanges rule over the markets, their banks regulate the paper-currency all over the other States, and their vote decides the election of the President. It is the country of bold politi-

cians, of adventurous speculators, of colossal fortunes and reverses. Easily carried away by sudden enthusiasm, and readier to promise than to fulfil, the people of the Middle States seem fickle; and if the calculating inquisitiveness of New England becomes sometimes tedious, the natural pride of the Middle States, mingled often with vain boasting, is equally disagreeable to the foreigner. But their comprehensive mind—which teaches them to consider more the general interests of the Union, than the particular policy of the State, and sometimes even of the party—gives the direction of the affairs of the United States into their hands. It is they who keep the balance of power between the stubborn New England, the hot-blooded South, and the young West; aided in this respect by their position, Western New York is peopled principally by New Englanders, Ohio is connected with the interests of the West, and Maryland, as a slave State, with those of the South. Whilst New England is the head, the Middle States, and especially New York and Pennsylvania (the Empire and the Keystone States), are the heart of the Union, the centre of all her interests.

Though the Middle States wield in fact the political power of the Union, yet nine out of the thirteen Presidents of the United States were Southerners, and the great majority of the government officials in Washington, and of the officers in the army, belong to the South.

3. The South, divided from the North and West by Mason's and Dixon's line, and by the Missouri compromise-boundary, includes fourteen States—Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, the two Carolinas, Delaware, and, in some respect, Maryland. The link which unites so many States into one political body, the interest to which they subordinate all their jealousies, the "peculiar institution," which has developed their character, is SLAVERY. Mis-

souri and Maryland, and even Kentucky and Virginia, are, we might say, only nominally slave States; they are peopled by agriculturists, not by planters, and the abolition of slavery would, by no means, disturb all their interests, nor ruin the landed proprietors; but, though their prosperity is unconnected with slavery, those States are as jealous in watching their State rights, and as obstinately cling to their "peculiar institution," as South Carolina or Mississippi, because their pride refuses to yield to the threats of the northern abolitionists. Since the first establishment of the colonies, long before a slave was introduced into them, the character of the South has always been entirely different from that of New England. Younger sons of English families, adventurous cavaliers, settled in "the mother of States and Statesmen," Virginia, and in the Carolinas; French adventurers of the same kind occupied the banks of the Mississippi, and an aristocratical stamp still characterises their descendants. Though the South remains behind New England in general instruction, and behind the Middle States in wealth and enterprise, yet the Southerners rule over their sharp northern neighbours in council and office. The departments at Washington are filled with them. Work is, in the South, as in Europe, not honourable in itself; none but the lawyer, the great merchant, and the physician, are acknowledged by the planters as gentlemen, and as their equals. There is no social equality between them and the shopkeepers and mechanics; and manual labour degrades the white in society. Slaves till the ground for the planter, who generally has no professional occupation, and has therefore leisure for the study of politics, and for political intrigues. From his youth accustomed to command, his individual impulses are more strongly developed than in the North. He lives in a grand style, and in his hospitality resembles the aristocrat of north-eastern Europe; susceptible and hot-headed, he is

inclined to maintain his opinions by his fist, and always ready to demand, and to give satisfaction, with his brace of pistols or his rifle. The South is the country of large estates, of elegant houses, of carriages and four, of sports and races; but, also, of heavy mortgages, of pistols and bowie-knives, of duels and affrays, and hereditary feuds. The lower classes are degraded; they shun labour, because labour is the attribute of slavery; they are illiterate, because the white population is not dense enough to establish and to maintain free schools, the newspapers are less numerous, because they find no readers, and, as a general result, the railways, canals, and steamers are scarce. The Potomac teems not with sails and chimneys, and the large floating palaces at the Levée of "the Crescent city," are all owned by Westerners. Every shoe, every coat, every handle of an axe in the plantations are manufactured in New England, New York, or Ohio. But Georgia forms an exception in this respect; it is a manufacturing State, covered with a net of railroads, growing in wealth and industry, and is called, therefore, the Massachusetts of the South. She was settled originally as a free State, and considerable infusion of New England blood has imparted to her the spirit of industrial enterprise. But, in general, we can say that the South grows cotton, tobacco, and rice, that it breeds horses and slaves, and furnishes statesmen to the Union.

4. As Maryland forms the transition from the Middle States to the South, so do Kentucky and Missouri from the South to the West; to the West belongs, besides these two, the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and, in some measure, Ohio. It is a young agricultural country, the home of the Sunday-schools, the terrestrial paradise of the oppressed German and Irish peasant, the land of independent small farmers; it is the most democratic and equal society on earth. Frankness,

disinterestedness, and hospitality characterise the Westerner. Unrefined in his manners, and sometimes rough, and even repulsive in his appearance, he is always ready to assist his neighbour, who has settled on the adjoining field, whom he never has seen before, and whose language perhaps he does not understand. He helps him in building the loghouse, he lends him his plough, and seeks with him the stray sheep, or the stolen horse, over the prairie.

The English had in their colonies always favoured large estates, and discountenanced or forbade squatting and small settlements, in order to raise artificially a population of daily labourers, who were to cultivate for wages the fields of the larger proprietors; and even the earliest law framed by Congress for the sale of the public lands, provided for its disposal to purchasers in tracts of 4000 acres each, and did not allow the selling of a smaller quantity. But, as early as 1800, an act of Congress broke up all such restrictions. Government land is sold in the New States, not only by the section of 640 acres, but also by the half and quarter section; and in the West we find scarcely a settlement larger than a section, whilst the quarter section is the average. A hundred and sixty acres are not too large to be cultivated by the hands of the farmer himself and of his numerous family, but are large enough, not only to maintain the family but also to afford the means of giving instruction to the children. Labour for wages is scarcer here because it is so easy to become an independent agriculturist. The settler is not unaware of the benefits of instruction, but his country, however, is yet too young and its resources not developed enough for a system of free daily schools; the Sunday-school is, therefore, the place where he as well as his children resort to, for general instruction. In the same way as the free schools form the most important and principal occupation of the Secretary of State in the New England States and

New York, and are often visited by the Governor, the Sunday-schools are an object of peculiar importance for the administration of the western States, where you often may meet the Governor teaching the children and grown-up persons who fill the rooms. The West has, by this means, become an agricultural republic, with far-spreading elementary instruction, peopled by the hardiest, boldest, and most enduring nation of the world, to whom the unceasing contact and struggle with savage nature has imparted that bodily health and strength, and that mental vigour and soundness, which characterise the Kentucky hunter of old, and the modern pioneer of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Yet farther west, are the half-savage trappers of the forest, the theocratical Mormons of the Salt Lake, the reckless, adventurous miners of California, and the settlers and squatters of Oregon, all destined to form nations different from the East, and the South, and the West, but not yet numerous and developed enough to be described as such.

## IV. AMERICAN PARTIES AND THEIR PRINCIPLES.

Not only the constitution and political configuration of America is entirely different from the constitutions of Europe; the political parties, too, stand on a different basis. Wherever political parties are allowed to exist in the old world, they belong naturally to two great groups, the conservative and progressive, with their further shades of retrogression and radicalism. In the United States, on the contrary, there are Progressists and Retrogrades, and Conservatives amongst the Whigs, as well as amongst the Democrats; and if we inquire about their principles, we shall find the parties divided within themselves in respect of nearly all the political questions before Congress. The

silver-grey Whigs are allied to the old Hunker Democrats, and the Seward-men are often voting with barn-burners and locofocos. The last *platforms* (thus they call in America the programmes) of the two great parties, the Democrats, and democratic Whigs, are nearly identical, and yet the party-strife is going on as intensely as ever. Superficial observers are therefore readily induced to say that it must be a personal struggle, and a political war of two clans for offices and spoils,—for the 25,000 dollars a year of the President, and the sixty millions of patronage, which, according to the custom and eternal laws of war, belong to the victor, and are to be divided amongst the party. But when we investigate not only their platforms, but also the tendencies of parties, we shall find that there is a real and most substantial difference between them, much more important than at first it seems, and that the democrats and democratic Whigs, not only differ from one another on questions of political economy, but are really representatives of political principles so different, that even the questions of conservatism and progress are subordinate to them, though the resemblance of their platforms, their agreement about the questions which are at this moment the most prominent, and the splitting of both parties in respect of other great questions, hide their real difference.

As to the history of the parties in America, it is sufficient to mention here, that originally there prevailed the same denominations in the colonies as in the mother country, and that the Tories sided during the war with the English. Many of them left the States with the English, others who had made themselves prominent, were expelled, the remainder were necessarily converted into good Whigs; Toryism ceased with the war of independence. But the Whigs were soon themselves divided into Republicans, who maintained the absolute sovereignty of each of the thirteen States, and saw a danger for liberty in every

attempt at union, and Federalists, who had no great confidence in the successful establishment of popular free institutions based on democracy and universal suffrage, who therefore wished to dam the flood of democracy by strengthening and giving more permanence to the executive and to the Senate. They did not like frequent popular elections, and a direct influence of the people on the legislation; they feared that America should pass through anarchy to despotism, and were therefore not altogether averse to a monarchical form of government. Their views remained in minority, and as the constitution,—such as it was established in 1788, by a compromise of the opposite principles,—seemed to them at least superior to the loose confederation, as it had existed since the establishment of independence, the principal men of the party exerted their talents in its support; but they always favoured restrictive measures, and a narrow policy. Being a kind of intellectual aristocrats, liberal Conservatives, like Monsieur Guizot,—they had no faith in the people, and shunned the contact with the masses.

But the Anti-federalists soon carried the day; Jefferson laid down the broad principles of Democracy, recognised the right of every man to freedom and equality, maintained the rights of the Indians to the occupation of their lands, removed every obstacle to immigration, and, by the purchase of Louisiana and of the country west of the Mississippi, he gave to the United States their natural frontier, and the possibility of expansion. He is the father of American Democracy, though not of the present Democratic party, which acknowledges only a part of Jefferson's principles as its own. The democratic party, as it stands now, is less Jeffersonian than Jacksonian, and has developed itself and gained strength principally by the contest about the United States Bank and the disposal of the surplus in the United States treasury; by the measure of the

annexation of Texas, and the war with Mexico. Though all those questions have been long ago disposed of, they yet occupy a considerable place in the official declaration of the principles of the party; they are the trophies of the Democrats, who think it expedient to recall their successful political struggles to the mind of the masses. The last democratic platform is really rather a review of the past than a programme of the future; they evidently do not like to commit themselves on the important questions which are to be decided under the next presidency, as the homestead bill, the improvement of the lakes and of the Mississippi, the foreign policy and the tariff. The Whigs expressed themselves upon three of those questions more especially, but they speak as little about their principles as their opponents; both agree in regard to the slave question, and both, of course, promise an economical government; they express their confidence in the patriotism and intelligence of the American people; they both acknowledge that the federal government is of a limited character, and recognise the rights of the individual States.

Comparing, therefore, the two platforms, we do not become wiser as to the questions which divide the parties. One of them is for liberty and order, the other for order and liberty. One is liberal conservative, the other is conservative liberal. We see only that both are for the presidency on behalf of their nominees, and for the government patronage for the party and party leaders.

In order to substantiate these assertions, we subjoin the two party programmes, as they were laid down by the party conventions at Baltimore, in June, 1852:—

"*Resolutions of the Democratic National Convention.*

Resolved,—That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved,—That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, that, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a General Convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert, before the American people, the declarations of principles avowed by them, when, on former occasions, in General Convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a *general* system of Internal Improvements.

"*Platform of the Whig Party.*

The Whigs of the United States, in convention assembled, adhering to the great conservative republican principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government, and their continued devotion to the constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination, for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization, as a party, is effected:—

The government of the United States is of a limited character, and it is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that all powers not thus granted or necessarily implied, are expressly reserved to the States respectively, and to the people.

The State Government should be held secure in their reserved rights, and the general Government sustained in its constitutional powers, and the Union should be revered and watched over as "the palladium of our liberties.

The constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbours, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers. It is expedient that Congress should exercise

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local Internal Improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen, and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practise the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility, in all business pursuits.

7. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

such power, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States—said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

Revenue sufficient for the expense of an economical administration of government, in time of peace, ought to be derived from a duty on imposts and not from direct taxes, and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes, and to all portions of the country.

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

8. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute book.

9. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved,—That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by, and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress—the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labour included: which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

Resolved,—That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

The Federal and State governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, of State, and of individual welfare.

That the series of resolutions known as the Compromise, including the Fugitive Slave law, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance—a final settlement—of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embrace; and so far as the Fugitive Slave Law is concerned, we will maintain the same, and insist on its strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation against evasion or abuses, but not impairing its efficiency; and we deprecate all future agitation of the slavery question as dangerous to our peace, and we will discountenance all efforts at the renewal or continuance of such agitation in Congress, or out of it,

of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made.

Resolved,—That the proceeds of the public Lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the Constitution.

Resolved,—That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

Resolved,—That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison, to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

Resolved,—That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically by word or deed, given aid and comfort to the enemy.

Resolved,—That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister Republic of Mexico, and earnestly

whenever, wherever, or howsoever the attempt may be made, and will maintain this system of measures, as policy essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union.

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

[No corresponding Whig resolution.]

desire for her all the blessings and prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions, and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war, which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party, and insured to the United States, indemnity for the past and security for the future.

Resolved,—That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the old world, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation, for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to these principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people."

That while struggling freedom every where enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the father of his country, as announced in his farewell address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground—that our mission as a Republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our form of government, by artifice or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation, and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.

That, where the people make and control the Government, they should obey its constitution, laws, and treaties, as they should retain their self-respect, and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers."

Notwithstanding this similarity of the two platforms no fusion of the two parties is possible, each of them is held together by unwritten principles, understood by every American, though not published in the platform.

The object to which the Whigs aspire, for the individual States as well as for the Union, is *an aristocracy* in the literal sense of the word—the government of the best, with the aim of taking the lead of the people; a government, therefore, which has the intention and the means to do good. Their principal aim is to enrich the nation, to make her industry independent of Europe, to develop the resources of the country—not to extend its territory. As a rule, they do not court the masses, but they endeavour to raise the standard of their morals and of their education. They do not object to higher taxation for the construction of canals and railways by the individual States; they advocate the protection of American steam navigation by premiums, of their fisheries by bounties, of their manufactures by a high tariff. They demand that the States should establish higher institutions for science; that Congress should open and repair harbours, and remove the obstructions of rivers; and are friendly to an expansive banking system. They are opposed to all war, but ready to confide power to the heads of the States or Federal administration: they would give to the people the right of only electing representatives, not of binding them by instructions. To sum up their principles in a few words, the Whigs represent authority, commerce, wealth, and centralising tendencies.

The Democrats, on the other side, take it for granted, that Government is nothing but a necessary evil. They think that, by the frailty of human nature, every Government is too apt to extend its power, to encroach upon the rights of the people, and to squander the public income. They require, therefore, a Government which does as little as possible; they claim only that it should not obstruct the

free development of the people, according to its own wants and requirements. They like military glory, and territorial extension. Government, according to them, must be powerful and commanding towards the foreigner; protecting the citizens and their pursuits abroad, but not interfering in any way with their concerns at home—it has always to act according to the expressed wishes of the people, which has the right of directing the Government. The Democrats, therefore, are free-traders in principle, and advocates of a gold currency; they leave the construction of canals and railways to the speculation of individuals and of companies, and are generally averse to the Government support of such undertakings. They oppose the increase of the standing army, but war is always popular with them, because it extends the territory of the Union and rouses the slumbering energies of the masses, to whose will and to whose passions they readily submit. Their representatives and senators are strictly *delegates*, and have to give up their seat if their instructions do not agree with their convictions. They affirm, as a cardinal truth, that the world is governed too much. They are enemies of centralisation and of all restrictions, and as every law is a restriction, they do not like much legislating, fully convinced that the people is always able to govern itself well, without being led by the officials. The Democrats represent liberty, self-government of the people, agriculture, and territorial expansion.

It is quite natural that both the parties often carry their principles too far: that Democrats sometimes flatter and excite the worst prejudices of the people, and become Demagogues, whilst Whigs sometimes seclude themselves from the masses, and endeavour to transplant the aristocratical distinctions of European society into the New World. Democracy, triumphant in New Hampshire, opposed the construction of railways for a long time, and the

Louisiana Convention refused to the Government the power of renewing the Bank-charters. On the other side, Pennsylvania involved herself under the Whigs, in a debt of 44,000,000 dollars for railways and canals, extending them in many unprofitable directions, without completing the net; and the bursting of the bank bubble in many States was the result of too much latitude given by the Whigs to the banking system. But such exaggerations never last long, and lead, after a party defeat, to a fair settlement of the question.

The Whigs have now no intention of chartering a United States' Bank, or of abandoning an efficient public control over the issue of bank notes; they have established a sound banking system in different States; and the Democratic States, with the exception perhaps of Arkansas, Texas, and California, collect their revenues in bank notes, deposit them in banks, and are at all times borrowing from banks, or trusting them in a hundred ways, in spite of the platform. The growing importance of the Mississippi valley has forced upon the Democrats the necessity of advocating likewise the improvement of the Western waters by the federal Government, and the larger grants of public land, for canals and railway purposes in the West, have not been opposed by them in the session of 1852. In the same way it is probable, that as Pennsylvania, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, claim protection for their iron and lead industry, the import duties on iron and lead will not be objected to by the Democrats. Colonel Benton, at least, one of the great democratic leaders, declared himself lately against the *ad valorem*, and for the specific duty in general, and especially pledged himself for the support of protection for iron industry. As to the Mexican war, whatever may be the opinion of the Whigs about its injustice, I never heard that there would be amongst them one single man, who would now consent to give up either California or New

Mexico. Yet the questions of protection, of general improvements, of the United States' Bank, and the Mexican war, remain the topics for all the political speeches in the respective party-meetings.

It is natural, from the above mentioned facts, that the great bulk of the manufacturers, bankers, merchants, and of the wealthier inhabitants of the great cities, are Whigs; the commercial interest is theirs, whilst democracy sways over all the agricultural and planting States and communities, and especially over the slaveholding South; as non-interference on the part of the federal government,—which, according to the Democrats, must follow the wishes of the people,—gives more guarantee of stability to their peculiar institution than a strong and meddling Whig administration going a-head of public opinion. The Irish and German emigrants are also a continuous source of accession of power to the Democratic party, as its very name is a bait for the multitude coming from Europe, though European Democracy is somewhat different from the American Democratic party. The Whigs feel this very strongly, and they have therefore appended the designation of *Democratic* to their party-name. As far as I was able to find, this measure has remained without success, and the Irish and Germans take the Whigs generally for enemies, not only of the Democratic party, but also of Democratic institutions. They do it so much the more, as a set of narrow-minded Conservative Whigs, in the seaport cities, have constituted themselves as the *Native Party*, wishing to restrict the laws of naturalisation, thus to withhold the right of voting in elections from all the emigrants, and reserving the vote for those who were born in America. Some years ago the native party found many theoretical supporters amongst the Whigs, and some few even amongst the Democrats; but after having created ill feeling amongst the emigrants, and driven all the naturalised citizens to

the democratic ranks, it went on declining, and is only in few places still of some local importance.

But the party-division does not stop here. In the ranks of the Democrats, as well as of the Whigs, there are different shades, each of them characterised by a nickname, and all quarrelling with one another, though at the elections fighting under the common banner against the opposite party. The Conservative Democrats, who sturdily oppose every progressive measure, got the nickname of *Old Hunkers*. They are always at hand when spoils are to be divided, and often got a share even of the Whig Government contracts. The progressive wing of Democracy, was originally called *Locofocos*, or concisely *Locos*, from the fact, that at a great democratic meeting, where the Old Hunkers, after having carried their resolutions in a hurried way, adjourned and put the lights out, the progressive section remained in the dark hall, and lighting the gas up by a locofoco-match (the American name for lucifer matches) continued the meeting, and reconsidered the resolutions of the Conservatives. The name of Locofoco, however, is now applied to the whole party: for, to the Whigs, every Democrat is a firebrand. The thorough-going liberal Democrats got, therefore, in New York, another name, viz., *Barnburners*, from a phrase of one of their orators, who said that they must burn the barns in order to expel the rats; in Maine they are called *Wildcats*. The *Softshells* form the transition between the Hunkers and Barnburners,—they are half-and-halfs, whilst the *Hardshell Hunkers* are the most Conservative party in the world, averse to every social and intellectual movement. During our stay in the United States, a new party distinction arose amongst the Democrats, *Young America* comprising all the ardent and generous minds of the party, in opposition to the *Old Fogies*, as the professional politicians were called by them.

The Conservative-Whigs, the Fillmore men, are termed *Silvergreys*, as one of their chiefs,—when attacked for his clinging to the old statesmen, who had devised the Fugitive Slave Bill as a compromise between the South and the North,—exclaimed that he remained rather a private amongst the *Silvergreys*, than a leader amongst the *Woolly-heads*. Those *Woolly-heads*, or *Seward-men*, are the Liberals amongst the Whigs, and got their origin in the political struggle about the compromise. They are opposed to the territorial extension of slavery; they wish to remove slavery from the pale of general legislation, therefore they endeavour to have it abolished in the district of Columbia and the territories, and they made a strong opposition against the Fugitive Slave-law, because it did not secure a trial by jury to the defendant. They agree in respect to this question entirely with the *Freesoilers*, who belonged originally to the Democrats, but had seceded from them in 1848, whilst the Seward party remained in communion with the Whigs, in spite of the platform of 1852. Instead of forming a separate organisation, they endeavour to carry their theories by getting first a majority for them in the party itself. This example was followed lately by many of the democratic bolters of 1848, amongst whom we notice the originators of the name and party, Martin and John Van Buren. But some of the original Freesoilers remained beyond the pale of the Whigs and Democrats, and were reinforced by many noble-hearted men, principally in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, who do not care for momentary success. They called themselves at first the *Liberty-party*, and got in Massachusetts the balance of power in their hands; but knowing the force of names, they constituted themselves, at the late convention at Pittsburgh, as *Free Democracy*. Their creed is given in the resolution of the Boston Ratification Meeting:—

"Resolved,—That no man on this earth can own another man: that the slave power in this country must be destroyed; that the Fugitive Slave Law should be repealed; that human bondage *in the territories and in the district* (Columbia) should be abolished; that all the new States should be free States; that our Government should acknowledge the independence of Hayti; that the rights of American coloured citizens in every State ought to be protected; that the general Government is a great organisation of freedom, and should go for it everywhere; that it should always be on the side of the weak against the strong, the slave against the tyrant, the people against the despot."

The *Abolitionists* proper, the "Garrison-men," are a less numerous, but energetic party; they denounce slavery in the scriptural language of the prophets, which is not entirely Parliamentary.

The parties in America are organised in a different way than in Europe. I have already mentioned that Conservatives and Progressists form but different wings in the same party, held together by the *Electoral Ticket*. It is not the difference of opinions, which marks a new party, but a separate nomination of candidates for the State and Federal offices. The Seward-men, the Van Buren Freesoilers, the Free Democrats, and the Abolitionists are but different shades of the same colour. Yet the Seward-men remain within the pale of Whiggism, the Democrat Freesoilers do not bolt from the great democratic party, but the Free Democrats have put up a different ticket, and the Abolitionists proper, quarrelling with them about terms, secede even from them, and withhold their votes from the federal elections, preferring to be the theoretical *Apostles* of their principles, than *Statesmen* with practical influence on the affairs of the country. They preach principles and opinions, and do not care in what way they are to be carried

without endangering the Union, and without convulsing the South;—Prophets of evil, without advising the means how to avoid it. The Seward-men are aware of it, that a repeal or even a modification of the Fugitive Slave Law, is for the present impossible; they therefore confine themselves to the measure of abolishing slavery in the district of Columbia. The Free Democrats intend besides, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, in order that the question of slavery should be excluded from the federal legislation, and the decision of it should remain entirely with the Southern States. The Abolitionists preach that slavery is immoral, a sin against the *Law of God*, the higher law, and therefore cannot be the object of any legislation. This is the difference between them.* But the direct influence of the Abolitionists is very limited, on account of their violence, which gives to the Southern slaveholders a pretext for declamations not less violent, against the encroachments of the North on the rights of the South.

The *Secessionists* of the South, are the very reverse of the Abolitionists of the North; like them, they are not caring for the general interests of the United States, and the natural and political links between them; they consider every measure exclusively from the point of view of slavery, they boldly express that they cling more to their "peculiar institution" than to the federal constitution, and pretend that the right of secession from the Union belongs to every individual State, and that such a secession cannot be taken for treason. They had considerable influence in the South during the discussions of the Fugitive Slave

* For the English reader we must observe, that the authoress of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Mrs. H. B. Stowe, Mr. Cassius M. Clay, Horace Greeley, the Senators Chase, Hale, Sumner, and Seward, all disclaim the Abolitionist designation; they do not approve of Mr. Garrison's violence and the unparliamentary proceedings of his party.

Law, principally in their original seat South Carolina, but I never could ascertain whether they were in earnest with their threats or not. So much is sure, that they carried their point, and their success may encourage them again, to renew a manœuvre which frightens the North, gives rise to many fine speeches on the danger and importance of the Union, and affords periodically the precious occasion for the leading statesmen to save the Union and the country. Their opponents in the South were the *Union-men*, *Union Whigs*, as well as *Union Democrats*, who deem the difficulties about slavery settled for ever by the Compromise and Fugitive Slave Law, whilst the Secessionists, or, as they now call themselves, *Southern Rights Men*, are not satisfied with this measure, but think it insufficient to protect the peculiar institution.

A new division of the party interests is "looming in the future"—the combination of the Western agricultural inland States against the sea-coast States. The Westerners think their interests slighted by the land system, and complain that the sea-coast States are jealous of a new and rival seaboard on the Pacific; the "new thirteen" would halve and distribute their importance and natural monopoly of all foreign commerce. But the decennial census of 1850 gives in the ensuing Congress, a majority to the people residing beyond the Alleghanies, in the great basin of the Continent, and one of its first proceedings will surely be to pass the Homestead-bill (which will change the system of the public land), to establish measures for the improvement of the Western waters, and perhaps the great railway to California, which will satisfy the West.

Since the sovereign self-government of the States, and the frequent elections give a chance of a fair trial to every theory, the parties often avail themselves of the theoretical questions of the day, which then become the issues of the party contests and triumph. Several years back Free-

masonry became a party question, and was fiercely attacked by the Whigs, who denounced all secret societies. But this agitation has entirely subsided, as the Americans generally are over fond of secret societies, and lodges of Masons and of Odd Fellows are to be found all over the Union, among Whigs and Democrats, through all classes of society.

The Temperance question became of late also of political importance. Taken up by the Whigs in New England, who, in order to check the hard drinking propensities of the people, endeavoured to enforce teetotalism by legislation, forbidding altogether the sale of spirits, except on the prescription of the physician,* the temperance question got an additional power by the establishment of the order of the *Sons of Temperance*, which was organised under masonic forms; and the Liquor Law, as it was called, closing all the rum-shops and gin-palaces, and forbidding the sale of all spirits whatsoever, has been carried in Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Minnesota. Whether this remarkable restriction on personal liberty, sanctioned in Maine by the overwhelming majority of the population, will be long endured by the masses, I cannot predict; but in the meantime the temperance and rum-selling party, both recruited promiscuously from the ranks of Whigs and Democrats, became of considerable importance in the local and State elections.

Another semi-secret society, which was formed during our stay in the United States, and whose bearing upon party politics may become of consequence, is *the Order of the Lone Star*, started principally by the Southern Democrats, with the avowed aim of revolutionising Cuba, and annexing "the jewel of the Antilles" to the United

* An old adage gives the lesson to the people of Boston.

"Men of Boston! don't make long orations;
Men of Boston! don't take strong potations."

States. Those who countenance such enterprises are called Filibusteros by the Northern Whigs and denounced as pirates; but the success of Texas is a too attractive precedent for the enterprising and adventurous youth of the South, whom the melancholy fate of General Lopez and his companions does not deter. "We failed," said one of the invaders of Cuba to me—a gentleman who had just returned from his African prison at Ceuta, "therefore we are pirates; had we succeeded, Lopez would have been a second William the Conqueror."

The Antirenters of New York are a lawless combination of the lessees of the large Van Ransellaer property, who declare that feudal tenure is against the spirit of American liberty, and therefore are not only unwilling to pay the rents, but set at defiance the law, forcibly resist the execution of the sentence passed against them, and commit agrarian outrages on those who pay their rents, or support the enforcement of the law. This conspiracy has, however, in a certain degree carried its object; the proprietors were compelled for a money consideration to waive their claims to rent and ownership; and the majority of the farmers have already become proprietors. But there are in the State of New York, besides the practical Antirenters, also theoretical *Antirenters*, who are anxious to abolish the Van Ransellaer title by law, and who excuse the agrarian outrages committed in connexion with this property. For a party they are not numerous enough.

Such are the general outlines of the political configuration of North America, and of the principles and subdivisions of the parties, modifying the national character in the different parts of the Union so far, that it is really difficult to pronounce a judgment, either on the political feelings, or even on the social manners and customs of the people. Notwithstanding the community of language and government, there are as great national differences in

America as in Europe. As to the state of parties, the foreigner who measures them by the rule of European politics of conservatism and progress, is *entirely* bewildered. The European measure is not applicable to trans-Atlantic relations.

# CHAPTER IV.

## PHILADELPHIA—BALTIMORE.

### I. PHILADELPHIA—THE RECEPTION—MRS. MOTT—THE PRISON—INDEPENDENCE HALL.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

*Dec. 24th.*—Several gentlemen of the committee of arrangement for the welcome of Kossuth in Philadelphia arrived in New York, to convey us to the "Quaker City." They decided that we ladies should precede the gentlemen, and instead of repairing direct to Philadelphia, should go first to a country-house on the Susquehanna.

We started on the morning of the 22d of December. The weather was not precisely favourable; and though we went by rail, and the car was provided with a stove, we suffered much from cold, draught, and wet; for as the people expected Kossuth to come along with us, at every station they poured in, and turned the carriage into a thoroughfare. We proceeded very slowly; the masses of snow had so rapidly accumulated, that it could not be shovelled off in time. The windows of our carriage were soon totally frozen, so that we could not see anything of the scenery around, and were limited for information and amusement to the conversation of the gentlemen who accompanied us. Mr. F * * * was very kind and obliging, readily answering all my questions about the farms along the road, at which I tried very hard to peep, rubbing the pane with my handkerchief. Here and there I perceived

plain houses, with but few barns and stables; farming seemed to be carried on on a small scale, apparently by the proprietor himself, with but few hands to help him.

Mr. * * *, one of the gentlemen who accompanied us, was a native of Germany. He had, as he told me himself, made his fortune in America, whither he had come as a boy; but his principles he certainly had not moulded on the Republican institutions of his adopted country. He highly approved of the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, advocating the wisdom of the measure, which, according to him, was sure to succeed lastingly, because Europe was not fit for freedom, and Russia was the only real power, and at last must rule over the whole world. Of Philadelphia he thought his own house the most interesting part, which he described with the relish of a *parvenu*, enumerating his splendid furniture, the sums it had cost him, and how well he could afford such luxury.

From the terminus a few minutes' ride took us to a slightly built wooden house, obviously uninhabited for several months; there was all around the comfortless chill of unpeopled rooms. The master of the house had come up from Philadelphia to greet us, a most amiable and kind gentleman, who did his best for our accommodation; but neither hospitable cordiality, nor even a crackling fire in the chimney, can warm the damp walls of a lonely summer abode in December. A gentleman whom I had observed in the train, but with whom we were not acquainted, partook of our supper. Our host asked me who the person was, as he thought he had come with us. Finding that I could give no information, he inquired from the gentlemen of the Committee, but no one could tell; the stranger had introduced himself as belonging to our party, but without giving his name. After close investigation, the unexpected guest turned out to be a correspondent of the 'Courier and Enquirer,' the New York paper which

ever railed at the cause of Hungary and all those connected with it.

On the morrow I beheld the Susquehanna river, which bends its course through the dale; an open ground separated our window from the borders of the stream. It was a smiling, cultivated landscape. Beyond the waters were young copses, but my eye sought in vain the forests of which we are reminded by the name of the State. Here nothing appeared primitive, nothing ancient, everything young and unfinished; no garden laid out round the cottage, no poultry-yard, nothing but board partitions hastily put up, to afford a temporary shelter to a carriage and horses; and the abode itself was, in fact, nothing but a nice edition of a log-house,—everything for utility, nothing for delight.

Towards evening we left for Philadelphia; the darkness, but faintly relieved by the plains of snow spreading on all sides, prevented us from distinguishing any object. About eleven we reached the city. The streets were as silent as the tall houses clustering all round; no vestige of the busy hum of a great town, it seemed all hushed into rest. Even the United States Hotel, where we slept, was perfectly quiet, and the gaslight shone only in the parlours prepared for us. The gentlemen of the Committee invited us to supper, of which oysters formed the chief elements:* oyster-soup, oyster-pie, fried oysters, and especially a calabash of terapines—a ragout of delicately small turtles—were relished by our hosts, who attempted to discuss the probable results of the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, but obviously knew little about European affairs.

Kossuth entered the city in the night, being anxious to avoid costly demonstrations, that the sympathy of the masses for the cause of Hungary might not be wasted in

* William Penn mentions, in one of his letters to the Free Society of Traders, "The oysters of Pennsylvania, six inches long."

pageantry. The municipality of the city, however, did not think it politic to deprive the multitude of a show, and themselves of the credit of a well-managed procession. Therefore, on the morrow flags waved in the streets, the militia and the members of different associations assembled in various parts of the city, bands of music played in the streets, and the people left the wharves, and the shops, and their trades, to witness the festive "turn-out," of which they themselves formed the main bulk and the most interesting part.

Stately display enough there was, and this, I fear, drew the chief attention of too many a spectator who looked down comfortably from the windows. But the dense crowd in the streets, swelling like an avalanche, hurry past all the gaiety and grandeur, and rush to get a glimpse of that calm, melancholy countenance of the man who has struggled so firmly, and has not been crushed by defeat. They do not care for the approaching snow-storm, which fills the air with icy dampness; it is a great day for them, to welcome the Washington of a nation which is brave as they are themselves, though less fortunate.

It was a great demonstration; but poor Kossuth did not relish to be gazed at by an admiring people; he was worn out by his exertions in New York, where, during the last week, besides receiving innumerable deputations, he had made in a foreign language six great speeches,—a fact unprecedented in the annals of eloquence, especially in a time when the greatest orator of England is allowed by the public to commit plagiarisms, and to rehearse the same speech on two successive occasions. With Kossuth the task of the orator has remained pure from theatrical inanity. Eloquence with him is only the means of carrying conviction to the soul, not of dazzling the public by a series of elaborate phrases.

After the ceremony was over I mounted a sledge, and

drove over the parts of the city most resorted to, and I found that the Quaker city has not lost the character of its origin. Solid neatness and thrifty simplicity prevail in the style of its houses and in the dress of the pedestrians we met. Beneficent institutions, prisons, almshouses, orphan asylums, houses of refuge, were pointed out to me on every step. The city does not strike as beautiful or attractive; no public monument stands here to please the eye; yet there is the stamp of wealth and of commerce wherever we cast our glance on the buildings and on the inhabitants, and we cannot help feeling that the pulsation of life must be strong and genial in these precincts, though it may in general be unadorned by the charms of art and somewhat monotonous. Every one I chanced to see in the streets seemed to pursue a definite aim; they looked all so serious and steady, even the rosy countenances of the young girls. None of them stopt at a shop to review the wares put up in its windows, and the very articles displayed there show that this is a rich market for useful objects, but rather a scanty one for elegant superfluities. And if ever such were in demand here, they certainly would be exhibited to-day, on Christmas Eve, when every child in the Christian world expects some joyful present.

*Dec. 25th.*—I called on Mrs. Mott, the eminent Quaker lady, to whom a mutual friend had given me a letter. I have seldom seen a face more artistically beautiful than that of Mrs. Lucretia Mott. She looks like an antique cameo. Her features are so markedly characteristic, that, if they were less noble, they might be called sharp. Beholding her I felt that great ideas and noble purposes must have grown up with her mind, which have a singular power of expression in her very movements. Her language is, like her appearance, peculiar and transparent,

and it is only when she touches upon the slavery question that her eye flashes with an indignation and her lips quiver with a hasty impatience, disturbing the placid harmony of her countenance and her conversation. But though she so positively pronounces the views at which she has arrived by self-made inquiry, yet she mildly listens to every objection, and tries to convince by the power of her arguments, untinged by the slightest fanaticism. She expressed her warm sympathy with the cause of Hungary, and her admiration of the genius of Kossuth; yet she blamed his neutrality in the slavery question. I objected, that as Kossuth claimed non-intervention as the sacred law of nations, he was not called to interfere in a domestic question of the United States, so intimately connected with their constitution. But how can Kossuth, the champion of liberty,—answered she—not raise his voice in favour of the oppressed race? to argue is surely not the same thing as to interfere. I replied, that a question involving intricate domestic interests, and for that very reason passions so bitter, that even an allusion to it rouses sensitive jealousies, certainly cannot be discussed by a foreigner with the slightest chance of doing good; that the difficulty of emancipation lies perhaps less in the lack of acknowledgment of the evils of slavery, than in the hardness to devise the means of carrying emancipation without convulsing the financial interests of the slaveholders, and to do it in a constitutional way. For after all, this must be attended to, if the welfare of the whole community is not to be endangered, therefore this problem can only be solved practically by native American statesmen, living in the midst of the people, with whom is lodged the final power to adopt the measure, as it has already been done in the Free States and in the old Spanish colonies.

Though I could not acquiesce in the opinion of Mrs. Mott, that the abolition of slavery should be preached in

season and out of season, by the defender of the rights of nations, I yet fell beneath the charm of her moral superiority, and I warmly wished that I could spend hours, to listen and to discuss with her and Mr. Mott, in the attractive circle of her children and grandchildren. Great was, therefore, my astonishment, when, upon my expressing my admiration for Mrs. Mott to some gentlemen, one of them exclaimed, "You do not mean to say, that you have called on that lady?"

"Of course I have," was my answer; "why should I not? —I am most gratified to have done so, and I only regret that the shortness of the time we have to spend here, prevents me from often repeating my visit."

"But she is a furious Abolitionist," retorted the gentleman.—"It will do great harm to Governor Kossuth, if you associate with that party."

"I perceive, sir,"—said I—"that you highly estimate Mrs. Mott, as you consider her alone a whole party. But if any friend of Governor Kossuth, even if he himself converses with a person who has strong opinions against slavery, what harm can there be in that?"

"Your cause will then lose many friends in this city," was the answer.

I was perfectly amazed at such intolerance, and expressed this frankly. The gentleman, however, attempted to point out to me what mischief the Abolitionists were doing, and how long ago emancipation would have been carried in all the States, had the Abolitionists not so violently interfered, and besides (continued he) Mrs. Mott preaches!

"Well," replied I, "do not many Quaker ladies preach occasionally?"

This fact was admitted, but another gentleman remarked, that Mrs. Mott was dangerous, as her sermons were powerfully inciting.

"Is she perhaps a fighting Quaker," inquired I, "who

appeals to the words of the Saviour, that he did not come to send peace on earth, but the sword?"

"I am a fighting Quaker myself," said the gentleman; "my forefathers fought in the revolutionary war, but Mrs. Mott is a Hicksite."

To my inquiry, what were the tenets of the Hicksites inspiring such dislike, I got the answer, "They are very bad, very bad; they, in fact, believe nothing."

This assertion was so contradictory to the impression left on my mind by Mrs. Mott, that I attentively perused some of her sermons, and I found them pervaded by that fervent desire to seek truth and to do right, of which Jesus teaches us that blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled—and therefore, although my views differ from hers on many points, I perceived that party-feeling must be strong in Philadelphia, to arouse such unjust views as I had heard expressed, and I could not help thinking that the meddling and narrow spirit had not yet departed here, which, in 1707, proposed that young men should be obliged to marry at a certain age, and that only two sorts of clothes should be worn, one kind for summer, and one for winter.

As I later learnt, the Hicksites got their name from Elias Hicks, a celebrated preacher of the Society of Friends, who taught doctrines of Unitarian character, and got a considerable influence amongst the Quakers, which led to a disruption of this peaceful community. About three hundred congregations called themselves orthodox, and gave up communion with the other two hundred congregations, whom they since designated as Hicksites.

*Dec. 26th.*—We visited the large prison established on the plan of solitary confinement. The strong wall which surrounds it, and the heavy gate, opening on its court, give, even at first sight, the appalling impression of forci-

ble and complete isolation. To be utterly shut out from nature, shut out from intercourse with fellow-man! there is something terrific in this idea; and still more so, if we consider that the secluded culprit is alone with the conscience of his crime. A gentleman who accompanied us told me, that the criminal is always blindfolded when he is first led to these precincts, that he may not make out to which part of the building he is taken.

When I entered the corridors, with the long rows of cells, strongly barred, I felt as if surrounded by tombs;—all was silent, motionless. I experienced, therefore, a kind of pleasant surprise when the bars were withdrawn, to behold, not skeletons, but rather healthy-looking persons. We visited several cells, and I spoke with every prisoner to whom we went, because I thought that it must be a privilege to these poor people to speak, as they are so rarely allowed to do it. They likewise seemed to enjoy it, except one black man, who appeared to have lost the use of his tongue, and though he did not look bewildered at our intrusion, he answered our questions only by nodding his head.

Most of the women whom I saw, readily told the melancholy tale of their errors, and some of them said it was a comfort to be granted reflection on their sins; others bewailed their fate with tears, though they all admitted that they were very well kept. The cells seemed to me considerably more spacious and far less gloomy than at Pentonville. In England, where the lodging and the food of the poorest class is wretched, the prison-rule cannot grant any comfort to the prisoner, lest the penitentiary become more attractive than the poor-house. In America the poorer classes live more comfortably; the prison, therefore, can also be less dreary, the seclusion is the principal means of expiation. Some of the small rooms, occupied by females, I found ornamented with little pictures and

flowers. Books I met with everywhere,—Bibles, chapters of religious meditation, travels, history. The library is ample enough, and is kept in good order by one of the prisoners, a poorly-looking elderly man, who was sentenced for forgery. This crime, and theft and larceny, appear the most common.

*Dec. 27th.*—Independence Hall, where Kossuth was received, is for ever memorable as the place where the continental Congress declared the Independence of America, and carried on the war and government during the most trying days of the struggle. At present it is used by the District Court of the United States, and by the City Courts. It is a stately brick building, one story high, nine windows broad, adorned by two columns at the door, and surmounted by a steeple in the periwig style. It was built about 1730, intended for the use of the provincial assemblies of Pennsylvania, but the republican spirit of the colonies was already then alive, and the ancient bell in the belfry, cast in Philadelphia long before the revolution, bears the inscription,—"Proclaims liberty throughout the land, and to all the people thereof."

The declaration of Independence, adopted on the 4th of July, 1776, was signed in the lower hall of the building on the 6th. It was done, not in a fit of enthusiasm, but after mature consideration. Massachusetts and Virginia took the lead, but the middle States, Delaware, New York, and the Jerseys, were not yet rife for bidding adieu to British connexion; their delegates did sign the document, but several days later. They were already in actual war with England; blood had flowed, and yet there were many who wavered, and did not like to express with pen and ink, what the sword and musket had declared already in letters of blood. But John Hancock, of Massachusetts, signed his name in a large strong hand, and rising from his

seat, said, "There! John Bull can read my name without spectacles, and may now double his reward of £500 for my head. That is my defiance." And Charles Carroll, of Maryland, put the aristocratic designation "of Carrollton" after his name, that amongst the many Carrolls, there should be no mistake about the signer of the Independence. On the 8th of July, the document was read from a platform before the hall, to the assembled masses, and the bell of the steeple "proclaimed liberty throughout the land." When Lafayette visited America, fifty years after the declaration, the historical hall was to be his hall of audience, and duly to honour "*the nation's guest*," all the former historical decorations and furniture were taken away by the committee of reception, and the room was fitted up with French tapestry and modern mahogany furniture! It was in this hall, that the second guest of the nation, Kossuth, was greeted by the authorities, and delivered his address to the people of Philadelphia

## II. GREAT MEN OF PHILADELPHIA.

Stephen Girard, at the time of his death (1831) the second wealthiest man in the United States, and by his memorable will the great benefactor of Philadelphia, is a singular instance of the way in which money sometimes is acquired and enjoyed in North America. Born near Bordeaux, in 1750, he left France at the age of ten, as a cabin boy, bound to the West Indies, whence he proceeded to New York, and sailed for some years between that city, New Orleans, and the West Indies, as cabin boy, sailor, mate, and eventually master and owner. He went largely into the St. Domingo trade, and a brig and schooner of his were lying at Cap Française, when the great revolt of the

negroes occurred. Many planters removed their valuables on board of his vessel, but few only of them escaped from the wholesale butchery of the white population. Whole families perished, and Mr. Girard could never discover the heirs of the greatest part of the wealth, about 50,000 dollars, which thus remained in his hands. Having acquired an immense fortune in the East Indian trade, and by banking speculations, he died in December, 1831. He always had been homely in his dress and personal appearance, his furniture was of the plainest kind, his equipage an old chaise and a common nag. He indulged in no amusements; his marriage was unhappy, on account of the asperity of his temper; his only child died in infancy; he had no one whom he loved as a friend. He had no sympathies for individuals, but only for the masses; for future generations, not for the present. He never was moved to charity by tales of distress, but he did not idolize gold, nor did he spend it for his own gratification, but it was his delight to see it usefully employed. A young man who had opened a store in a neighbouring village, requested him for some wares on credit, though he could not offer any security. Girard asked him how he intended to carry the wares to the village. "On my back," said the shopkeeper. Girard was pleased with the answer: he gave him the wares and three dollars besides, in order to hire a donkey for the conveyance of the parcel. But the trader said, he could make better use of the money in his business, took the parcel on his back, and went on. When shortly afterwards he returned to Philadelphia to pay his debt, Girard opened with him a large credit, saying, that this man deserves support, and must become rich. In result, by the aid of the eccentric Frenchman and his own energies, he did become a rich man.

Another time he encouraged Samuel Coates, a shrewd Quaker, to call on him next day for some aid needed by

the Pennsylvania Hospital, saying that if he chanced to find him *on the right footing*, he might give something. Samuel came at breakfast time. "Well, what have you come for, Samuel?" "Any thing thee pleases, Stephen." Girard gave him a check for 200 dollars, which Samuel stuffed into his pocket without looking at it. "What! you do not look at the check I gave you?" "No, Stephen, beggars must not be choosers." "Hand me back the check again," demanded Girard. "No, no, Stephen; a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." "By George!" exclaimed Girard, "you have caught me *on the right footing*." He then drew a check for 500 dollars; and presenting it to Mr. Coates, asked him to look at it. "Well, to please thee, Stephen, I will." "Now, give me back the first check," demanded Girard, which was instantly complied with. Few understood him, however, so well as Samuel Coates. A Baptist clergyman, to whom he gave 200 dollars in the same way for a church, made a remark concerning his ability to give much more. "Let me look at the check," said Girard. It was handed to him, and he tore it up with indignation.*

Of his immense wealth, estimated variously at from six to twelve million dollars, he bequeathed a few very moderate legacies to his relatives; to the city of New Orleans for sanitory purposes, and measures for promoting public health, a considerable amount of real estate in Louisiana; to the State of Pennsylvania 300,000 dollars, to be expended in internal improvements by canal navigation, the said sum not to be paid unless the laws be passed by the Pennsylvania legislature, required to carry out several clauses of the will. The great bulk of his fortune he bestowed upon the city of Philadelphia, in trust: 500,000

* 'Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania.' By Sherman Day.

dollars to be expended in opening, widening, and improving a street along the Delaware; sundry residuary sums to the hospital, other public charities, and the promotion of the health and comfort of the inhabitants; and, as his great and favourite object, 2,000,000 dollars, or more if necessary, to build and endow a college for the education of "poor white male orphans," as many as the said income shall be adequate to maintain, to be received between the ages of six and ten, and to be bound out between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, to suitable occupations, as those of agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures. The following injunctions are extracted from the will:—

"The orphans admitted into the college shall be there fed with plain but wholesome food, clothed with plain but decent apparel (no distinctive dress ever to be worn), and lodged in a plain but safe manner. Due regard shall be paid to their health, and to this end their persons and clothes shall be kept clean, and they shall have suitable and rational exercise and recreation. They shall be instructed in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages); and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant. I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs. And, especially, I desire that, by every proper means, a pure attachment to our Republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy institutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars.

"I enjoin and require, that no ecclesiastic, missionary,

or minister, of any sect whatever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted, for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce: my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry,—adopting, at the same time, such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer."

When Mrs. Pulszky visited Girard's college, she was struck by the palace-like appearance of the buildings and the sumptuousness of the apartments. Girard's will, which enjoined "to avoid needless ornament," has not been strictly adhered to, and the expenditure, in this respect, has retarded the opening of the institution from the time of the death of the founder in 1831 till 1848. It appeared to her also, that the desire of Mr. Girard, to have them taught facts and things, should also be extended to their practical education. She found them too much attended on; they have not even to take care of their wardrobe themselves, but there is a special person appointed not only to take care of its repair, but likewise to keep the clothes nicely folded up, and placed in good order. Children cannot be early enough accustomed to attend to their own wants, especially these orphan-boys, who, having at-

tained their sixteenth year, are thrown into the world upon their own energies, unprovided by the institution, in which they have been for ten years brought up in a most liberal way, as the subjoined figures show :—

In 1849, there were 205 orphans in the school. The appropriation for clothing was 5000 dollars, for subsistence 11,500 dollars, fuel 2000 dollars, furniture 1000 dollars. In 1850, for 305 scholars, clothing 9900 dollars, subsistence 17,000 dollars, fuel 2200 dollars, furniture 5000 dollars. But it may be premature to express an opinion on the management of this institution, which until now has established only the preliminary classes, adding every year a new one, until the intentions of the founder are fulfilled.

The names of two great men are blended with Philadelphia, though they do not belong exclusively either to the city, or even to America,—the names of William Penn, and of Benjamin Franklin. William Penn, the "proprietor" of Pennsylvania, the founder of Philadelphia, is naturally judged in America from a different point of view than in Europe. For the New World he is not the courtier of the Stuarts, but the great statesman, the founder of a new political commonwealth, untrammelled by the intrigues of a corrupt court, which protected his principles of religious equality only because they were to be the back-door for introducing Roman Catholicism by stealth into England. In America Penn had no obligations towards the crown, and had not to take a conniving, compromising, wavering position, between the despotic tendencies of the Stuarts and the passive resistance of the corporations and of the people. Penn comes to his colony with the determination to embody all the noble aspirations of his soul. He is as fond of the Indians as only Rousseau could have been ; he brings to them the simple mes-

sage of peace and love, "the English and the Indian shall respect the same moral law, shall be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal, composed of an equal number from each race." He describes them quite in a sentimental way. "In liberality," he says, "they excel; nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart;—strong affections but soon spent;—the most merry creatures that live;—feast and dance perpetually. They never have much, nor want much; wealth circulates like the blood; all parts partake, and though none shall want what another has, yet exact observers of property. They care for little because they want but little, and the reason is,—a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere." Are not these extracts from Penn's letter, to the Free Society of Traders, like a dream of a poet? He did not yet understand the hunter, nor surmise his unavoidable collision with the agriculturists. He meets King Tammany under the elm-tree, and signs there the treaty of alliance and brotherhood. He buys the land of them, and "makes" a chain of friendship between the Red and the White, which should always be made stronger and stronger, and kept bright and clear, without rust or spot, between their children and children's children.

As to the Whites, their charter is the charter of political liberty, of religious equality, and he has every reason to congratulate himself upon his success. When he leaves Philadelphia, there is as yet no Indian difficulty, no party-feud in Pennsylvania. His colony thrives and prospers. His farewell letter to it is a touching evidence of his

affection and hopes for the small commonwealth he had founded.

"My love and life is to you and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love, and you are beloved of me, and dear to me, beyond utterance. . . . . And thou, *Philadelphia*, the virgin settlement of this Province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth! Oh, that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end. My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by His power."

But Penn's hopes were not fulfilled. For the welfare of his colony he had struggled for years in England, and now he could not earn the fruits of his toils. Quarrels between the colonists of different creeds, bickerings between the legislative and executive, and pecuniary embarrassments, embittered his later years. The change of dynasty in England, and the jealousy of the crown against the Proprietary governments in America, encouraged his enemies; the jurisdiction of his province was wrested from him by the crown, and though he was reinstated, and returned to the colony, he had again to go to England, in order to prevent the Proprietor's administration from being changed into Royal government. He could not remain on the place of his predilection, for which he had sacrificed everything, and all his plans for peace on earth, and good-will towards men, remained unsuccessful in the colony, as well as in England; though an affectionate patriarchal relation subsisted between Penn

and his province until his death, in spite of the endless colonial quarrels and feuds.

But his family had not inherited his benevolence; they took their proprietary and feudal privileges only for a source of income, and so soon as in 1764, John Penn, the grandson of William, by proclamation, offered bounties for the capture or scalps of Indians!* The American revolution swept away the feudal titles of Penn's family, but his benevolence, and the charter which he framed, are always recorded with gratitude and admiration by the people of Pennsylvania, though the frequent riots in Philadelphia prove but too strongly, that it is only by name, and not in fact, the city of brotherly love. Still Penn's spirit lives in the public institutions for the moral and physical care of the poor, in the almshouses, hospitals, prisons, and colleges.

There are very few men whose example and writings had a more powerful influence on their people, than Benjamin Franklin. In many respects, his personal character has become the character of the Americans, of three parts of the Union out of four. Rising to consideration by hard work, sobriety, and industry; calculating and abiding his time in politics; a keen observer of the physical as well as of the moral world; a little vain of his own morality, at least as far as never to put his light under the bushel; proud of his country, not caring for Europe, and yet gratified by all the flattery bestowed on him in Europe; benevolent in life and unrelenting in polemics,—he is the prototype of many distinguished Americans. He had perhaps less faith in the triumph of American Independence than the Massachusetts Republicans; he advised his friends at the time of the stamp-tax, "to light up the

* 'Historical Collections of Pennsylvania,' by Sherman Day, p. 29, from Gordon, p. 88.

candles of industry and economy, as the sun of liberty has set;" and he would have acceded to every honourable compromise with the mother country; but when the Revolution actually broke out, he served the cause of liberty with unflinching patriotism. He liked to measure things by convenience, and his answer to Thomas Paine, about the proposed publication of his 'Age of Reason,' characterises him admirably. "I would advise you," he wrote, "not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn the piece before it is seen by any other person. If men are so wicked *with religion*, what would they be *without it?*"

There is yet one name which should be recorded by every visitor of Philadelphia, the name of Robert Morris, whose biography reminds us of the life of the heroes of Cornelius Nepos. Born in Lancashire, brought by his emigrant father to America, entering into commercial business in Philadelphia, he became one of the leading merchants of that city. But his business and his pecuniary interest did not slacken his patriotism; he cordially entered into the non-importation agreements which preceded the war, and courageously affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence. During the war, the financial difficulties of the United States were not less formidable than the armies of England, and whilst Washington had the more glorious task of carrying on the war on the battle-field, Robert Morris, who was entrusted with the management of the finances, had to provide for army ammunition, sulphur, saltpetre, lead, provisions, and accoutrements; he had to fit out a naval armament, to negociate bills of exchange, and to procure foreign loans. His own credit stood often higher than that of his country, and he never hesitated to pledge it for the public necessities. It was owing to him that the decisive operations of 1781 were not completely defeated from the want of supplies, and when the currency was depreciated, it was against him

that all the complaints were directed. His merits were not less important, though less conspicuous, than those of the generals who defeated the English, or of the statesmen who negociated the treaties and framed the constitution.

But it was not his lot to enjoy the freedom for which he had toiled so hard and so successfully. He had expended his wealth for his country in her hour of need, but in her prosperity she forsook him. Involved in land speculations and building schemes, he broke down, and in his last years he was confined in prison for debt.

## III. BALTIMORE.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

*Dec. 27th.*—The trip from Philadelphia to Baltimore, is so shortened by the railway, that though we left the Quaker city after breakfast, we should have arrived at Baltimore in good season for dinner, if we could have proceeded from the terminus straight to the hotel. But a numerous military escort, and manifold associations, with a whole exhibition of banners, obstructed our way, and though we turned into a bye street to avoid the throng, the crowds were so dense on all points, that we took a couple of hours to reach the Eutaw House, where apartments had been prepared for us.

The city gives the impression of sprightly gaiety; the red brick houses look cheerfully on a boisterous population, moving to and fro in the streets, with quick movements and animated looks. None but the coloured people loiter about the corners of the avenues, staring idly with their large, dazzling dark eyes, and walking lazily but a few steps to stop and stare again. The negro women look less drowsy; they cluster together, talking and glancing around, obviously delighted at the pageantry,—the topic

of the day. They form the gaudiest portion of the varied objects before us; their dress, though poor in material, is of brilliant hue; none wears a dark shirt, or a sable handkerchief; all are adorned with purple, yellow, and blue. These groups give a Southern aspect to the city, in spite of the masses of snow and ice, accumulated along the paths cleared for the procession.

But it is not only the black population which impart so peculiar a stamp to Baltimore; its citizens, too, and especially its ladies, are decidedly different from those I met in the Northern States. The gentlemen here, I found in general warmer and gayer in their conversation than the grave Philadelphians, and more communicative than the ever busily preoccupied inhabitants of New York. They appear to care less and enjoy more. Nevertheless, their physiognomies are marked in a certain degree, by the shrewdness of the commercial Anglo-Saxon race.

I had repeatedly heard in the States, that the ladies of Baltimore were exquisitely beautiful, and I found that they justify that assertion; they unite, in some measure, the charms of the North and of the South; the dazzling skin, the rich hair, the brilliant hue of the eyes and the ruby lips; the stately deportment, the graceful movements. There is much vivacity in their appearance and in their language; they seem very fond of music, and have the credit of singing and playing very well; their society is most pleasant.

The prison, I visited here, left a dismal impression on my mind.

Though the "Auburn" system is adopted, and, in consequence, the prisoners are not isolated, but working together in different shops, they look, on the whole, much more blunted than in Philadelphia. I think that this may, in part, be owing to the insufficient ventilation all over the building, and, more especially, to the closeness

of the dark, low, and small cells in which the culprits are locked up, after their day's work is done.

I perceived a little black boy of about eleven years, and I asked him why, and for how long he had been sentenced. "For life," was the answer. "This is awful, how is it possible!" exclaimed I. I then was told that this unnatural hapless being had broken the skull of another child with whom he played, because he would not give him up his toy; that it was ascertained at the time, that when he committed the deed, he was fully aware that death was painful and irretrievably destructive. But it seemed to me monstrous, that a child is sentenced to prison for life, instead of being sent to a house of correction. Doomed to endless prison at the age of eleven! public revenge instead of education! The law which dictates such treatment, does not seem in accordance with the institutions of the United States.

*Dec. 28th.*—Of the public monuments of Baltimore, and especially of the Washington column, I think it may be said, that they less adorn the city than the city adorns them. Their white marble forms a pleasant contrast to the surrounding red buildings, but they are rather historical monuments than monuments of art. Is it not remarkable that the custom of putting statues at the top of columns, where nobody can see their workmanship, which was introduced by the later Roman Emperors, has been imitated in London and Paris, and even across the Atlantic? Our artists cannot vie with the taste of the Greeks; therefore we content ourselves to imitate the costly productions of the declining Empire. Verily, if the public monuments of our days should once be considered as tests of our civilisation,—our glory will be small!

# CHAPTER V.

## WASHINGTON CITY.

### I. SOCIETY.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

WHEN on the 30th of December we reached Washington, the fog was as dense and as yellow, as if it had been freshly imported from London. The first man who greeted us at the railway terminus was Mr. Seward, late governor of New York, now senator for that State,—one of the three gentlemen appointed by Congress to receive Kossuth. He made a most agreeable impression on me. His appearance is distinguished;—a noble forehead, light grey hair, penetrating eyes, pointed New English features, in which shrewdness and benevolence are blended; his elegant dress and easy manners convey at once the idea, that he is at home in the drawing-room as well as in the senate. His conversation is fluent and instructive, fascinating even to his political opponents. I had repeated opportunity of seeing that this gentleman, the heir of John Quincy Adams's principles and views, did in fact reconcile, by his personal amiability, all those Southerners who came in personal contact with him. Senator Seward, though by the unceasing denunciations of the 'New York Herald,' he is the bugbear of the South, is yet highly respected by Southern statesmen, and has never become an object of those violent parliamentary attacks, with which John Quincy Adams, in spite of his eminent services as Ambassador, Secretary of State, and President, was assailed, when, towards the close of his remarkable

career, he again entered Congress as a member of the house.

Senator Seward is the most influential of the Whig leaders. He has the instinct of the future, and never shrinks from taking up measures, because they are unpopular, if he foresees that in time they will get the majority. When we arrived in America, his popularity was at an ebb, for he was known as unfriendly to the fugitive slave law; but before we left the United States, he had won back the majority amongst the Whigs, and commanded the esteem of the Democrats.

We had hardly entered the drawing-room of Brown's Hotel, when the Secretary of State was announced. The countenance of Mr. Webster is well known in England. The vast bald forehead, the broad thick black eyebrows over the stern large dark eyes, the reserved countenance, the emphatic deep voice, the measured gait, impart a gravity to his demeanour, extended to every one of his movements, even to the cool hand-shaking with which he greets you. He was evidently surprised at Kossuth's mild, melancholy, dignified manner. The unmoveable countenance of the silencious Secretary of State was lighted up for a moment, when he first beheld the oriental solemnity of the great Hungarian: he remembered, perhaps, the sunny time of his own manhood, when he was the warm advocate of struggling Greece. The cold statesman, the logical expounder of the interests of the United States, was ever open to noble impulses; but his calculating mind controlled the impressions of his heart. He had perhaps expected to meet in Kossuth a visionary agitator, a theoretical revolutionist; but a short interview obviously satisfied him of Kossuth's superiority. A few days later he was asked, how he liked the 'nation's guest.' "He has the manners of a king; his is a royal nature," was the answer.

General Cass, and General Shields, the members of the reception-committee of the Senate, were our next visitors.

The old explorer of the head-waters of the Mississippi, the celebrated ambassador at the court of Louis Philippe, the most popular of the democratic leaders, has one resemblance in his fortunes with the Whig Secretary of State—he has not been able to attain the highest position in his country, though inferior men have attained it.

It is indeed remarkable, that, for a series of years, the most prominent political men of both parties, Henry Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Cass, Buchanan, were not elected Presidents. They were all ministers; but a prominent parliamentary career and a high rank among the statesmen, is in America conducive to renown and respect, not to popularity. Military chiefs and statesmen of second order have more chances at the presidential elections. The masses require instinctively a stout heart and sound common sense in their chief, and they wish to see him surrounded by the men of first-rate talent, as his advisers, at the head of the departments. Democracy never did, and never does, think it safe to entrust the supreme power to men of genius, though it requires their exertions for the public weal.

General Cass, tall and stout, full of vivacity and French politeness to the ladies, strikes by the frankness and cordiality of his manners.

General James Shields, the democratic senator of Illinois, is a "self-made" man. An Irish emigrant, he became a lawyer of influence in the West, and took a prominent part in the Mexican war, at the head of a regiment of volunteers. Bold and gallant, as his countrymen used to be, he distinguished himself in different battles, and when severely wounded, he attracted the general interest of his adopted country; so prominent and attractive had been

his gallantry. His physiognomy is very pleasant. Dark hair, dark brown eyes, dark complexion, lively demeanour and conversation, elegant manners and eloquence, recall his origin; acuteness and precision in expression, comprehensive liberal views, unprejudiced research, were developed in his character on the free soil of America. Let those who revile the Irish as *Celts*, go to America for a different reply!

"Don't you go to the President to-morrow?" was repeatedly said to me on the last of December. "No, I am not invited," answered I. "Well, nobody is asked, and everybody is expected; it is a levee," was the reply—"all Washington will be there, and many people come in from Georgetown and the neighbourhood."

I then understood that the levee lasted the whole morning, and consisted in a drawing-room review on a very large scale, as hundreds and hundreds of people defiled before the President. I little expected that we were ourselves to have a second edition of this New-Year's day ceremony.

Coming from the President, the visitors thronged to Brown's Hotel, to claim an introduction to Kossuth; and as they were considerably more than our apartment could hold, we could neither request them to sit down, nor, of course, would we keep them standing; therefore we had no choice but to bow and to shake hands, without attempting any conversation. Yet there was a great deal of variety in this pantomimic intercourse. One moment a lady trips in, wrapped in velvet and furs from head to foot, a fan in her hand, her uplifted veil flowing down over her plumed bonnet. The gentleman who accompanies her, proclaims her name: I mumble, "most happy indeed;" we look at each other; we both bow; the top of her fingers lightly touches my hand;—she passes on. An old senator follows, he emphatically presses Madame Kossuth's

hand, saying, "Welcome to our shores." Next a lady, in a rather weather-beaten morning attire, with a shawl and bonnet, that must have witnessed many a New Year's-day levee; she stares at us most intently, and only utters, "How do you do?" I re-echo her salutation; she stares again, and most probably would long continue to do so, but she is pushed on by another lady, looking very determined, with several children at her side and at her heels. "Take off your hat, Charley!" says she, to discipline her son. The children, behind her, cry, "We can't see;" a little confusion ensues. The lady elbows right and left; "Now the girls can see," exclaims she; and begins to enquire, how many children Madame Kossuth has, and how many I, and where they are, and how they are, poor little things! But the gentleman who has the trying task of introductions, gets impatient, and exclaims: "This will not do; please, ladies and gentlemen, to pass on; so many are coming! please, ladies, not to stop."—And ladies and gentlemen, old and young, pass now in so quick succession, that I can hardly retain the name or the faces, though many of them are well worth remembering; members of the Senate; generals and colonels; officers of the navy and their ladies; interesting and sweet countenances from the North and the South, the East and the West. Here we met with no bureaucratical type of civil officers, and with no stiffly trained military deportment, such as form the main bulk of the visitors at levees on the continent of Europe; nor is there the slightest trace of the stately splendour of the aristocratical mother-country; nor yet is there the monotony of the conventional drawing-room dress-coat and cravat, for every one comes as suits his occupation, his habit, or his convenience; in gold-embroidered regimentals, in a paletôt or in Oxonians, in a white cravat or a knitted shawl twisted round his neck, in kid gloves or without gloves. On the whole I may affirm, that Mr. N.

P. Willis, the American chronicler of European dandyism, has not yet made many disciples in the United States.

The room begins to grow emptier, a few visitors yet approach, amongst them a lovely woman. She has tears in her eyes as she welcomes us to the land of the free; she leads in her hand a little girl of striking beauty, who wistfully glances up to us, and her mother says: "Darling, these are the ladies of whom you have heard so often, the ladies who have suffered so much with their children, should you not like to have likewise the dear little ones with us?"

Such warm greeting we had repeatedly experienced in every quarter of the States which we had visited; at the firesides of the rich, amidst the crowds of the people; in the shops of the working-classes, in the asylum of the blind. But that tearful sympathy, freely expressed likewise in the drawing-room, deeply impressed me with the conviction, that artificial conventionalism has here not deadened that delightful sensibility, whose absence leaves so many fashionable resorts void of every genuine charm.

On the 6th of January we dined at the White House, the official abode of the President. Every one who is familiar with European "etiquette," and its traditional influence, must wonder how utterly every vestige of this kind has disappeared across the ocean. It is true that in Europe too, Spain perhaps excepted, etiquette has, since the first French Revolution, ceased to be what it is still in the East, *a code of the formalities of reverence*, whose laws are strictly enforced by education, and are religiously observed by habit. There the difference of rank and of age is not only marked by the difference of title, of ornaments, and of seats, but persons are distinctly honoured by every movement with which they are greeted, by every gesture with which they are met, and which, therefore, convey a symbolical meaning. In Europe such ceremonial has been

superseded by a conventional rule of the style of dress and the order of precedency at official occasions; and though these offer but a vague historical interest, their pomp and regularity have a certain effect of solemnity. At the White House there is nothing of the kind to be seen. There are here no pictures, no statues, no silk tapestry, no costly furniture, scarcely a few prints, and even these are presents of the French artist who engraved them. The appearance of the guests of the President is as simple as his abode. This formed one of the topics of my conversation with the President, whose neighbour I was at table. He remarked that the people of the United States claimed economy in every detail from their chief magistrate, and that on one occasion, when an ex-President stood up for the Presidency, his opponents used the argument against him, that he had introduced gilded spoons and elegant plate at the White House. Here it is only the intrinsic dignity of the personal character which can invest the President with social authority. We read of Washington,* "that he received visitors with a dignified bow, in a manner avoiding to shake hands, even with his best friends." But it certainly required the acknowledged superiority of "the father of the nation," that public opinion did not protest against such reserve; for to meet every one on terms of perfect equality, is the right and the custom of every American citizen.

Mr. Fillmore has, in his countenance and in his manners, an expression of natural kind-hearted frankness, fully in harmony with that principle: and Mrs. Fillmore resembles him in that respect. Their daughter has likewise imbibed this republican characteristic, and she unites with it an amiable sincerity, which struck me, when I remarked to her how very well she spoke French; on which she an-

* Watson's Annals of Philadelphia.

swered to me, that she had had opportunity to practise it in the school where she lately had been a teacher. Such views, fostered and maintained by public opinion,—the absence of all military pageantry in the dress and the household of the President, though he is the commander-in-chief of the army, navy, and militia,—is an insurmountable barrier against any thought of usurpation, and even the hand-shaking with everybody,—the most tiresome of all the Presidential duties,—has become one of the great guarantees of the republican institutions. It retains the chief magistrate on the level of the citizen, reminding him incessantly that he is but one of them. And therefore it is not so painful for a President to return to private life as we should imagine. On the 3d of March, four years after his election, he removes quietly to a hotel in Washington, and having settled his domestic affairs, he again takes up his former profession. Jefferson goes to his plantation; John Quincy Adams recommences his political career, as member of the house of representatives; Tyler accepts a small municipal office in Virginia; and Mr. Fillmore will probably return to the office, where his junior partner has, during the time of his Presidency, conducted his law business.

The most remarkable of the guests for me, besides those whom I knew already, were the President of the Senate, Senator King, of Alabama, who has since been elected Vice-President of the United States, General Scott, the commander-in-chief, the hero of the Mexican war, and Mr. Kane, the young naturalist, who had accompanied the embassy of Mr. Everett to China, and lately the Arctic Expedition, which Mr. Grinnell, of New York, fitted out in search of Sir John Franklin.

General Scott, tall, bulky, and commanding in his appearance, is as prolix in his words as he is concise in his actions. One of those great captains who never lost a

battle, he has repeated the exploits of Cortez. With a small force, chiefly of volunteers, he has taken the fortress of Vera Cruz, fought his way against fearful odds, from the low land to the plateau of Mexico, defeated the splendid army of the Mexicans led by Santa Anna, who was styled the Napoleon of the West, and has conquered with ten thousand men, the halls of Montezuma. And yet this hero is no friend of war. During the excitement of the Canadian insurrection, when the loyalists had destroyed the steamboat Caroline, in American waters, and slain American sympathisers, nothing but the discretion and firm conduct of General Scott, who held the command in those parts, averted a war with England. A remarkable proof of his disinterestedness, and of his patriotism, was given by him, when in Mexico the most influential citizens requested him to remain there as head of their Republic, and offered him, in this case, a great pecuniary reward, for they said he alone would be able to govern well the disturbed commonwealth. But the General rejected this offer, he never would give up his proud position of a citizen of the United States, not even for a Presidential chair in Mexico. He is one of the living glories of the United States,—in his private life as pure and unstained as in his public career.

As most of the fashionable people at Washington reside in hotels and boarding-houses, to spare the trouble and expense of temporary establishments, balls and crowded parties in private houses can but rarely take place. In consequence, the "Washington Assemblies," balls on subscription, directed by a committee of the leading gentlemen of the society, are considered the most pleasant and elegant resorts of amusement. One entertainment of this kind was given during our stay there. The aspect of the Washington assemblies is like that of the elegant subscription balls in the capitals of Germany,

which, though exclusive by the nature of their arrangement, yet assemble more different circles of society, than we meet at the routs of a private house. The Friday levees of the President, during the season, are mere abridgments of the great New Year's Day levee. The door of the President is open to every American citizen.

A party of Indians from the far West had arrived in Washington, with complaints and petitions to their "great father."

The President invited us to witness the audience in the White House. The chiefs and braves of four different tribes were here, and two of them had brought their squaws along with them; clad in their skins and blankets, or ornamented with feather crowns, with their clubs and pipes, crouching on the floor, they offered a most picturesque scene. They were really red, that is to say, they were *painted;* but, when washed, the red man is by no means red, but light-brown.

Mr. Fillmore, sitting in an arm-chair, surrounded by some of the government officials and the Indian agents, addressed his red children in the usual way, summoning them to explain the object of their visit. He did it with a dignity which struck me as different from his usual demeanour. The communications were made through several native interpreters, as the Indians did not all speak the same language. The chiefs rose one after the other, shook hands with their "great father," and complained that the emigrants to California were incessantly crossing their hunting grounds, with horses and waggons, frightening away the deer, without giving compensation for the damage; that they had but small stores of Indian corn; that they feared starvation, and requested redress of their "great father."

One of the chiefs, an Otoe, mentioned that their tribe

never had raised the tomahawk against their white brethren, and yet they were perishing, like the others. Another chief found that Washington was so far from the Rocky Mountains, that he wished to get a horse to ride back. They all looked very cunning and shrewd. They belonged to entirely savage tribes, not yet settled in the "Indian Territory;" but were the original owners of their hunting-grounds. The "great father" told them that the Indian agent of the government would take care of them, and instruct them in the art of tilling the ground, and raising abundant food, of weaving their clothes, and manufacturing their tools; he intimated to one of them that the United States would probably treat with his nation for the cession of a strip of land for a road; and he promised to the other that they should return on iron horses, much swifter than any living horse could carry them.

After all, the Indians seemed pretty well comforted by receiving silver medals, and a large star-spangled flag. As the squaws were unexpected visitors, Mrs. Fillmore had nothing to give them but sugar-plums.

## II. SITE OF THE CITY—POLITICS.

Washington is an artificial city, without any other importance than that it is the seat of the Government and of the Legislature of the United States. Like Munich, Stuttgart, or Karlsruhe,—expansions of the court of the Princes, built only by their command and encouragement, and therefore without importance for commercial intercourse,—Washington, too, has its origin, not in the natural requirements of the country, but in the decision of Congress, which placed the seat of the government on the banks of the Potomac. The riots in Philadelphia, when the mutinous soldiers had threated the Continental Congress in In-

dependence Hall, were a warning to the statesmen of America not to put their government within the reach of the excitable population of large cities. In order to prevent a pressure from without, as dangerous for the dignity of the government as to the liberty of the people, it has become a political maxim in every State to fix the Capitol* in some central place, but not in the commercial metropolis. Boston is the only exception to this rule, but the natural coolness of the New-Englanders divests the experiment, of connecting the centre of commerce with the seat of government, of the danger which would encompass it in the excitable Middle States or the South.

Though Washington was intended to be only a city of the Government and of the Congress, yet there was a secret hope that the vitality of the United States might give an independent and growing life, even to this artificial offspring. And why not? The Potomac is a noble stream, which can carry steamers and merchant-vessels as well as shads, and Chesapeak Bay, into which it discharges its waters, has raised Baltimore to prosperity. The city, therefore, was laid out on a wide plan, but the great extension is not yet filled up: the resources of the back country of Washington remain undeveloped, and therefore commerce does not impart life to the city; it has remained what it was in the beginning, the seat of the departments and officials. It spreads only in proportion as the extension of the territory of the United States leads to a natural increase of the members of Congress, of the government officers, and government expenditure. Washington is the best evidence that no city can grow up artificially where a government has no revenues to squander. Everything has here turned out differently from what had been intended. It strips bare the fact, that when a great city

* The Statehouses of the States and the palace of the Congress in Washington bear all this name.

seems to be enriched at the will of a despot, this is only because the public revenues are artificially squandered on it, but no new wealth is created.

When the Capitol was laid out on the hill, the city was to grow up in front of the building, in the shape of a fan, and the White House, the residence of the President, to remain a country seat, at a distance of two or three miles from the city, that the President might not be importuned by frequent visitors. The grounds in front of the Capitol naturally rose in price, whilst the lots in the valley, sloping towards the White House, had no pretension of becoming the American metropolis, and remained cheap. But precisely because they were cheap, they were taken up; buildings rose here and there very irregularly; and when the central building was finished, it had nothing but the fields in front, and it turned its back to the city, of which the White House and the Capitol became the two extremities. A dozen of columns were thereupon patched to the back of the Congress-hall, that it might become the front. Staircases were made, and gardens laid out, to ornament the hill on which it is raised; but all these changes have not improved its style. From afar it looks commanding, but as you approach and can distinguish the decorations, you see the meagreness of the design and the meanness of the execution. In the old front it looks better.

The general aspect of the city is very strange. The Capitol, the Post Office, the Treasury, the Home Office, the Smithsonian Institution, and the White House, decorated with a profusion of white marble, of dark granite, and architectural ornaments, form a remarkable contrast to the unconnected patches of low-brick houses which line the streets. These also are broad enough for the traffic of a ten times larger population than it is now. The American applies proudly to his Capitol the lines of Horace: "Privatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum;" but

to a foreigner it makes the impression of an Eastern metropolis of a half-nomade nation, where the palaces of the king are surrounded by the temporary buildings of a people, held together only by the presence of the court. And this is really the character of the population of Washington. Society is formed here by two distinct classes of inhabitants, one temporary, the other permanent. For the President, the Heads of Department, the Senators, and Members of the House, it is but a temporary abode, it is not their home; they live almost all in hotels and lodgings, not in their own house. They do not care for domestic comforts, and therefore they do not ornament their abodes; they look on them as the banker does on his dark and dreary counting-house. They remain strangers in Washington. Even those who live here for ten years and longer do not feel at home. Henry Clay lived and died in a hotel, and during his long career connected with Washington city, Mrs. Clay never visited him, though their marriage was always a happy one. The permanent population in the city, are the clerks in the departments, the judges of the Supreme Court, the editors of the papers, a few merchants and bankers, and the foreign ambassadors, who keep house here, and in social respect have an importance far superior to any that they could occupy in Philadelphia or New York. They are the hosts who give elegant dinners, and balls, and evening parties. The members of Congress, and their wives and daughters, are the guests, unable to return at Washington the hospitality they receive,—a position, which, for a clever diplomatist, is of no small avail. To the floating population belong also the agents for elections, for private claims, and for government grants; "the lobby members," as they are called, who, like the sharks around vessels, ply around the senators, rushing at every job and government contract. For political intriguers, there is no richer gold field in the United States

than Washington,—an arena not only of political contests, but also of "*log-rolling*," "*pipe-laying*," and "*wire-pulling*."

As to the wire-pullers, they are known all over the political world; and the philosopher, studying history, is astonished, how men often act the part of puppets, without their own knowledge. The greatest wire-puller is, of course, Russian diplomacy; and the words legitimacy, demagogy, democracy, socialism, and family, are those by which European nations and statesmen are moved to dance as St. Petersburgh fiddles. In America, the magic word is different, it is called "peculiar institution," and "abolitionism." Whenever an opportunity is wanted to disturb men's minds, to raise politicians to greatness, or to bury others, the stage is always ready, and the play always successful. The plot is "secession from the Union," and the finale, "the country saved," with triumphal arches, and nosegays, and garlands, for the saviours of the country. Minor plays are daily enacted by the wire-pullers, who have a continual practice in the elections; where it is not only important to canvass for the friend, but also to weaken the enemy, by drawing off his votes for a third person.

"Log-rolling" is a more simple affair. It is the combination of different interests on the principle, "daub me and I daub thee." Whoever is too feeble to carry his own project, combines with others in the same position, in order to get influence. Local affairs and grants are often brought to notice, and pass the Congress in this way.

Of "pipe-laying" I got two different definitions. According to one, the origin of this expression is traced to an election job, where an undertaker sold some Irish and German votes by a written agreement, in which, of course, the ware could not be named; it was therefore styled *pipes;* pipe-laying would therefore mean corruption. But it also applied to political manœuvres for an aim entirely different from what it seems to be. For instance, wishing

to defeat the grant of land for a special railway or canal, which has every chance to pass, you vote for it, but in your speech you describe, in glowing colours, the advantages of railroads in general, and wind up, by presenting an amendment, for the extension of the grant to all the other railroads in construction,—on the principle of equality; and thus you make the grant impossible.

In a democratic country, where freedom of speech is not limited, and the press is unfettered even by fiscal laws, every movement of government is exposed, judged, and condemned in the most unmeasured words. One party denounces the other, and corruption is mentioned so often, that it would be very easy for a malicious tourist to write a book on the decline of the United States, composed exclusively from extracts from public speeches, and party papers. But every impartial observer will find, that government is carried on in America with remarkable integrity and economy. Large as the Union is, the expenditure of the federal government, including the interest of the United States debt, and the annual payment towards its extinction, is met by the income from the duties on importation, and the sales of land. No direct taxes are levied for federal purposes. If we compare the estimates of the United States with the European budgets, we find that the sums expended without necessity, are much smaller than anywhere else, though the party criminations and recriminations are so loud, that a foreigner is tempted to believe the government to be a compound of corruption and dishonesty. The Galphin and Gardiner claims were often mentioned by the opposition as evidences of mismanagement. But they have been thoroughly investigated, and no blame could be attached to the departments. The Galphin claim arose out of old English pretensions from the Cherokee war. After many years' solicitation, it was fully established by Congress, and the

attorney-general had no objection to it; but when it was paid, it appeared, that the acting secretary at war had formerly been the legal counsel of the claimant, and was entitled, in case of success, to a considerable share of the amount received. Though the justice of the claim was not disputed, the house blamed the President for not immediately dismissing the secretary at war; and a law was passed, prohibiting any senator, member of the house, head of department, or any public officer whosoever, to participate in any emolument proceeding out of claims before Congress.—The Gardiner claim was paid under the treaty with Mexico at Guadaloupe Hidalgo, where two million dollars had been set aside for the discharge of all claims of American citizens against the Mexican government. This claim too was acknowledged by Congress, and paid by the Treasury; yet it turned out to be altogether a forgery. A committee was appointed to inquire into the facts of the case, but until now it has not found any connection of the claimant with the departments of state. The secretary of the treasury had been originally the counsel of the claimant, but had given up his interest in the cause, as soon as promoted to office.

The Senate of the United States, as a body, contains more practical statesmanship and administrative experience, than any other legislative assembly. All its members have been trained in the legislative assemblies and senates of the individual States. Many of them have passed several years in the House at Washington, or have been at the head of their State as Governors, or have transacted the business of the Union as Heads of the Departments of State. But southern rashness sometimes deprives the Senate of the gravity and dignity which behoves the fathers of the great Republic.

During the session of 1852, Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, having, in a speech, violently and personally attacked

Mr. Clemens, of Alabama, was openly challenged by his opponent, in a reply more violent than the attack. The Senator of South Carolina, however, is not only chivalrous, but also pious; he declared to the Senate, that he is a member of the church, and that religion forbade him to fight, though, as it seems, it had not restrained him from an abusive attack.—But Solon Borland, the Senator of Arkansas, went much farther, and rehearsed, with modern improvements, the scene of the Spartan chief, who, in the council of war before the battle of Salamis, impatiently raised his cane, when he saw that Themistocles was about to speak. "Strike, but listen!" was the celebrated answer of the great Athenian, which disarmed the angry Spartan. At the Capitol a similar scene terminated differently. The estimates for printing the last census seemed extravagant to the economical Senator from the Red River; he could not conceive, how the publication of the statistical details could be of a use commensurate to the costs of printing, and when Mr. Kennedy, the chief of the census office, in order to explain the importance of the documents, came to the seat of the Senator, and requested him to listen to his explanation, the modern Solon of Arkansas improved the part of the Spartan chief; he raised his fist, knocked down Mr. Kennedy with a powerful blow, and did *not* listen.

The House of Representatives, renewed every two years, by general election, has here a more subordinate position, than in any other constitutional realm. The great parliamentary battles are all fought in the Senate. The speeches of the great American orators, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and Cass, have resounded within its walls, and the eloquence of Soulé, Seward, and Sumner, is equal to that of their illustrious predecessors. Personal collisions, rare in the Senate, are frequent in the House. During the last session Messrs. Wilcox and Brown, both from

Mississippi, boxed one another's ears in open session. The Tennesseean representative gave the lie to his colleague from Kentucky, and abusive language was often heard, though it was not a time of great political excitement, and no important question stirred up the passions.

The powers of Congress are very different from those of the legislative assemblies in other countries. Congress does not govern, nor control the government of the States; nor has it anything to do with the Church, the Education, the Prisons, the civil or criminal Law, or with private bills. The chief objects of the English Parliament are, therefore, removed from its sphere. Congress has only the power to decide upon the commercial policy of the United States, and to provide for their defence, and for certain matters of general interest. It makes the tariff, regulates commerce with foreign nations, coins money, regulates its value, and provides for the punishment of forgery. It fixes the standard of weights and measures, establishes post-offices and post-roads, defines and punishes piracy, and offences against the law of nations. It declares war, raises and supports armies, provides and maintains a navy, calls forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, and makes rules for the regulation and government of the land and naval forces. It borrows money on the credit of the United States, votes the budget, and settles claims against the federal government; it admits new States, it exercises exclusive legislation in the district of Columbia, and makes all needful regulations respecting any "Territory," or other property belonging to the United States. It has, moreover, to establish a uniform rule of naturalisation, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States. The Senate has to discuss the treaties and nominations of Ambassadors, and of the Judges of the Supreme Court, made by the President, and to try all impeachments of public officers. The Ministers,

or, as they are called, the Heads of the Executive Departments, are not members of Congress, they are only the advisers of the President, and it is not necessary that they should have a parliamentary majority. The chief function of European parliaments, the defeat or support of the ministry, is, therefore, not to be found at the Capitol. A Frenchman would find the Congress very dull, but, as a President is elected every fourth year, by universal suffrage, the American can easily spare the excitement of a ministerial crisis, though this is the necessary safety-valve to constitutional Europe.

With such restrictive powers—all those not mentioned in the Constitution as belonging to Congress being reserved to the individual States—the members of Congress and the Senators are not overwhelmed by business. Unless, therefore, the Union needs again to be saved from secession, or the tariff is discussed, or the admission of a new State, connected with the question of slavery, to be decided—the spare time of Congress is employed for personal explanations, and political speeches, as they are called, or "speeches for Buncombe," as they are nicknamed. In fact, they are lectures on every topic which has political interest, on slavery or abolition, on the land system, the Maine liquor-law, on the merits or demerits of the parties, or on any other abstract political principle, intended for the constituents of the Representative or Senator, not for the House or the Senate. This is so well understood, that members often are considerate enough to announce, that they will send their speeches straight to the congressional newspaper, without robbing the House or Senate of its time, by delivering them. But the great object of Congress, every fourth year, is the making of a President. The election belongs, of course, to the people, but the masses are influenced from Washington; and therefore speeches on the merits of the party nominees, and the de-

fence of them against party attacks, are great themes in the Halls of the Capitol. The session preceding the Presidential election always lasts long, from the first Monday of December often till the end of July. Then follows a short one, closed after the inauguration of the new President, which takes place on the 4th of March. The ensuing session is again long and important, succeeded by a short one; thus their duration alternates from four to seven months.

## III. KOSSUTH AND THE CONGRESS.—BANQUETS. —THE MONUMENTS OF WASHINGTON CITY.

The reception of Kossuth in New York, as a tribute to the principles of freedom, had become a great political event through the enthusiasm roused by his speeches, in which he pointed out the interests and obligations of America, in respect to foreign affairs. He preached the principles of Christianity as extended to international relations, and since he had undoubtedly touched the hearts of the people, a certain political clique became frightened, and pains were taken to arrest his triumphal progress, and to damp the fire kindled by his eloquence. At the receipt of the tidings about the French usurpation, the New York Herald, and other papers, began immediately to say, that New York is excitable and easily carried away by sudden emotions, but that Philadelphia will prove cooler, and the enthusiasm subside step by step. The corporation dinner at Philadelphia, was to be a breakwater for the tide of popular excitement, and it was arranged that the toasts should all be responded to in the most complimentary way for "the nation's guest," but disclaiming his explanation of the principles of non-intervention. As Kossuth was exhausted by his previous exertions, he could not make a

speech at the dinner, and had soon to retire. At the same time Judge Kane and Judge Kelly defeated the scheme, by advocating, in eloquent words, the views and principles which had been applauded by the masses in New York. A second entertainment, called "the People's banquet," was arranged for the next day, and popular feeling burst forth in the Quaker city, not only for Kossuth, but also for his principles, and Baltimore responded yet more loudly to his appeal.

The Congress, always ready to follow the impulse of the people, hereupon invited him to the Capitol, an honour never before bestowed on anybody but Lafayette. A few southern members (six in number) delayed the decision for a couple of days by endless speeches and amendments; but they could not succeed in enlisting any more votes to this opposition.

On the 7th of January, the galleries and the lobbies in the Senate and the House, were overcrowded by ladies. Kossuth was introduced, the members rose from their seats, and Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, the chairman of the committee, said, "Mr. Speaker, I have the honour, on the part of the committee, to present Governor Louis Kossuth to the House of Representatives."

The speaker responded, "As the organ of this body, I have the honour to extend to Louis Kossuth a cordial welcome to the House of Representatives." And Kossuth replied,

"Sir,—It is a remarkable fact in the history of mankind, that while through all the past honours were bestowed upon glory, and glory was attached only to success, the legislative authorities of this great Republic bestow honours upon a persecuted exile, not conspicuous by glory, not favoured by success, but engaged in a just cause. There is a triumph of republican principles in this fact. Sir, I thank, in my own and my country's name, the House of Repre-

sentatives of the United States for the honour of this cordial welcome."

He then took the seat which had been prepared for him by the committee; a motion was made to adjourn, in order to afford the members an opportunity to pay their respects to the guest of the Congress. The members of the house, and the ladies advanced to the circular area in front of the speaker's seat, and the introductions recommenced once more.

In the evening of the same day a banquet was given by the members of Congress, in honour of Kossuth. The President of the Senate, Mr. King, of Alabama, was in the chair. Mr. Lynn Boyd, the speaker of the house, and Daniel Webster, the secretary of state, occupied the places at the side of the "guest of the nation;" the majority of the senators and of the ministers were present. Kossuth's speech was one of his finest oratorical efforts, and some allusions to American history and American statesmen called forth a burst of enthusiasm such as I never had witnessed before. The members rushed from their seats and pressed around the platform, and clapped their hands and gave such hearty cheers, that it was impossible to be mistaken as to the immense effect of the orator upon the minds of the audience. After him the Secretary of State delivered one of those emphatic speeches, in favour of struggling liberty—a homage and encouragement to those who had been defeated—which called back to remembrance his celebrated discourse for the Greeks. Another candidate for the Presidency followed him, Douglass of Illinois, and put his approbation of Kossuth's principles, as applied to American policy, in still more precise terms. General Cass went again a step further in his eloquent response to the next toast. General Houston, also a candidate for Presidency, saw that he could not safely do more, and therefore

silently retired. His friends, alarmed at the success of the other candidates, called for him, but he was not to be found. The party separated in high spirits.

The next day was the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, one of the great holidays of the democratic party. The Whigs were opposed to the war of 1812, and the hero of New Orleans, the obstinate democratic Jackson, is, of course, not in great favour with them: the celebration of the 8th of January has, therefore, always a party colour. A strong feeling against England often manifests itself on this occasion, especially since the emigration from Ireland has given some political power to the Celtic blood. A certain section of the English people is very much mistaken in their estimate of the feelings of goodwill towards them across the Atlantic. They are a cool and calculating people, and seeing their commercial interests interwoven with those of the States so tightly, that they cannot be severed without a fatal injury to the financial prosperity of both countries, they listen with pleasure to their occasional guests from the American commercial States, who, in their after dinner speeches, so emphatically announce the good news of an everlasting friendship between the great Republic, and the mighty constitutional monarchy. The English of the Manchester school too easily forget, that nations are ruled not only by the gospel of Bentham and the revelations of Adam Smith, but also by other passions, by sympathies and antipathies not less powerful in their results than the love of lucre. Antipathy against England is deeply rooted in the hearts of the Americans. Planted by religious communities,—Puritans, Roman Catholics, Quakers,—who had to leave their home in order to escape the oppression of an intolerant church, the colonies were forced into a long protracted war, by the encroachments of the central government. The barbarous Indians, on the frontiers, were incited against the peaceful settlers

of the West; the expansion of the States west of the Southern Alleghanies, was interfered with by diplomatic intrigues; a new war proved necessary against England for the protection of American commerce and of the American sailors, and wherever there rose an enemy of the States, it was always a friend of England. The Americans have not forgotten that their Capitol, the sanctuary of the nation, the symbol of the Union, was burnt down by English troops wantonly, as if it were the Bala Hissar, at Kabul; and the "exodus" which has relieved Ireland, and the poor-houses of England, of hundreds of thousands,—a matter of congratulation on this side of the Atlantic,—has fanned the embers of animosity not yet extinguished in the United States. Englishmen rarely notice what an amount of hatred against their country is exported by the emigrant ships, to be sown into a fertile soil, where it easily ripens. The Irish emigrants, aroused from the torpor of their bogs, exert their physical and intellectual power successfully on the virgin settlements of the West, and when five years have made them citizens of the United States, their hearts are still filled with enmity against a country, whose institutions have driven them from their old home. The German emigrants, too, who flee from the nameless oppression of their petty tyrants, feel no sympathy for England. They say, that England has always sided with their despotic princes, and spent for their restoration hundreds of millions sterling, whilst struggling liberty on the continent has never received anything from the English but some fine parliamentary speeches of compassion. The manufacturer and the mechanic, who have to compete with English imports, complain that he is ruined by them; the slave-holder grumbles against the English nation on account of the Abolitionist feeling, and the "West Indian experiment." The anniversary of the battle of New Orleans is an opportunity suited for the ut-

terance of such feelings; and this year it was Senator Stephen Douglas, of Illinois, who was the exponent of this tendency. Douglas, a short man with an uncommonly intelligent physiognomy, scarcely above forty years old, who, from being apprenticed to a cabinet maker, has become one of the leaders of the democratic party, is a most popular orator. Aware of the feelings of the masses, he has always the courage to express them without restraint. Deeply initiated in the secret machinery of the elections and political manœuvres, his influence in Congress and in the party conventions is not less powerful than in popular meetings. Most amiable in the intimacy of private life, he is, in public, the relentless enemy of his enemies, and the unconditional advocate of his political friends,—in every respect one of the important men of the Union.

Kossuth could not leave the hostile feeling against England unnoticed. He strongly dwelt on the fact, that a mutual, sincere friendship between America and England, is the only hope of the ultimate triumph of liberty all over the world. He expressed openly, that no better service ever can be done to the despots, than to throw the apple of discord between these two nations, and to foster a hostility, which, having its root in past wrongs, does not appertain to the present condition of both states. He had often to repeat these remarks during his progress in the United States.

The most interesting man in the Hall for me was Gen. Houston, of Texas. I had the opportunity of meeting him several times during our stay in Washington, and was always struck by his un-American manners. Reserved as an Indian, and polite as a Spaniard, with a countenance alike impassable when flattered by his admirers, and when assailed by his opponents, he made upon me the impression of a great man. People seemed surprised at my admiration for "Sam Houston," but a man who, in the most

different situations, had always reached the highest position in the community where he lived, cannot be of ordinary gifts. His ancestors were Scotch Highlanders, he himself a Virginian; but after the death of his father, at the beginning of this century, his mother removed to the western frontier of Tennessee, close to the Indian boundary, in order to better her broken fortunes. The schools of Virginia were never much renowned, and Houston did not visit them frequently. In western Tennessee there were no schools; he was placed in a merchant's store, and had to stand behind the counter. But this did not suit his temper; he escaped, and went to the Indians, where he lived for several years, hunting the deer, and reading Daniel de Foe, and Pope's Iliad. When eighteen, he returned to his home, and became a teacher; then enlisted in the U. S. army, at the time of the war with England. He was wounded at the battle of the Horse-shoe, against the Creeks, on the Tallapoosa river, and got a Lieutenancy as a reward for his toils and bravery. But after the peace, he threw off his commission, studied law, put up his shingle,* and in the course of a few years was elected District Attorney, in Tennessee, Militia General, Member of Congress, and in 1827, Governor of the State. He married, but being unhappy in marriage, and assailed by the calumnies of the friends of his wife, he resigned his office as Governor, left civilized society, and went again into the Indian wilderness, to live amongst his early friends the Cherokees.

Intimate with their king, he soon became the counsellor of the nation. They felt towards him the affection of old and tried friends. He knew their wrongs, and was resolved to scrutinize the actions of the Indian agents and sub-agents. His feelings we may gather from one of his later speeches:—

* Americanism; it means to begin business as lawyer.

"During the period of my residence among the Indians, in the Arkansas region, I had every facility of gaining a complete knowledge of the flagrant outrages practised upon the poor red men by the agents of the government. I saw, every year, vast sums squandered and consumed without the Indians deriving the least benefit, and the government in very many instances utterly ignorant of the wrongs that were perpetrated. Had one-third of the money advanced by the government been usefully, honourably, and wisely applied, all those tribes might have been now in possession of the arts and the enjoyments of civilisation. I care not what dreamers, and politicians, and travellers, and writers say to the contrary. I know the Indian character, and I confidently avow, that if one-third of the many millions of dollars our government has appropriated within the last twenty-five years, for the benefit of the Indian population, had been honestly and judiciously applied, there would not have been at this time a single tribe within the limits of our states and territories, but what would have been in the complete enjoyment of all the arts and all the comforts of civilised life. But there is not a tribe but has been outraged and defrauded, and nearly all the wars we have prosecuted against the Indians, have grown out of the bold frauds and the cruel injustice played off upon them by our Indian agents and their accomplices."

Personally acquainted with President Jackson, Houston visited Washington in 1832, to plead the cause of the red men. But the friends of those whom he had denounced were powerful; and though he succeeded in his object, as far as the Indians were concerned, he was assailed personally in the most violent way, until he horsewhipped in the open street one of his enemies, a member of Congress. He was tried, but his defence was so able, that he was only sentenced to be reprimanded by the Speaker at the bar of the House. In the mean time, difficulties had

arisen between the Mexican province, Texas, and the central government of Mexico. Houston, known as an enterprising man, was invited to settle in the new State, which had need of bold soldiers. But even here people found great fault with him; he had adopted the Indian dress, the buckskin breeches, and the Mexican blanket. When, however, the war broke out, sinews and brains rose in demand; and, in spite of the Indian dress, Houston was elected commander-in-chief of "the patriots." In those lonely countries, where it is difficult to find provisions, the armies of the contending parties are not so numerous as in Europe. The Texan general mustered 700 men on the field of San Jacinto (21st April, 1836); Santa Anna, the Mexican President, who commanded in person, had 1800. The battle was fought gallantly, the American riflemen did their work with the skill of experienced hunters, and in the evening the Mexican army was annihilated, and their commander-in-chief a prisoner of war. The Independence of Texas was won. But a greater task was to be achieved; the new Republic was to be organised, and the elements of society were here very strange. Spaniards, American pioneers, hunters, adventurers, and outlaws, a band not dissimilar to the founders of Rome, and to the followers of Rollo of Normandy, or of William the Conqueror, formed the nucleus of the first population of the "*Lone Star Republic.*" Houston was the only man there who, with an army of such men, could achieve the independence of a State, and organise the country from the chaos. The government had nothing but debts; they had neither money nor credit. But Houston knew how to treat the people with whom he had conquered the enemy. An American gentleman, at this time accidentally a resident of Texas, told me; that when the masses pressed upon the general to become a candidate for the Presidency of Texas, and requested

him to address them, he went on the platform, and with a glance of contempt, he said—"Gentlemen, do you know what I feel when I see you claiming a government? Nothing but disdain and disgust. Here I see amongst you the adventurer, the bankrupt, the swindler, the gambler, the outlaw, the murderer from all the States of the Union —men able to fight and to defeat all the armies of the world; but as to the organisation of a government, which should secure peace, prosperity, and power at home, and command the respect of civilised nations—Gentlemen, this is not your task. Nothing but an iron hand can rule you; and, if you elect me, by the Almighty, you shall have it!" "Hurrah for old Sam!" was the response, and on the 22d of October, Sam. Houston was inaugurated the first President of Texas. With what ability he managed, first the recognition of independence by foreign nations, then the annexation to the United States, and at last an indemnity of ten millions of dollars, for the land which was ceded by Texas to the federal government at the establishment of the Territory of New Mexico, is but another evidence of the powers of the man; who, nevertheless, as he is not a great debater, seems not to command much personal influence in the Senate of Washington. To me, he is the representative of a new class of statesmen, who, developed in the western wilderness, will probably in a short time succeed to the present refined school of eloquent lawyers and politicians in the management of the great Republic. It is almost unnecessary to remark that the society of Texas has entirely altered since the times of the battle of San Jacinto, and that it partakes now of the character of the South and of the West.

There can scarcely be a greater contrast than between the reserved warrior, who has wrested a great State from Mexico, and has annexed it to the United States, in spite of the opposition of both Republics, and of all the

intrigues of European diplomacy—and the young and eloquent "Free-soil" Senator of Massachusetts, Charles Sumner. The one, educated by nature amongst the Indians—the other the refined student, reared in the schools of New England, and maturing his learning in Europe amongst German professors, and English statesmen. The one, extending the frontiers of his country in a southern direction, and therefore adding new territory to slavery; the other, bent on the purpose of restraining the "peculiar institution," and an advocate of the principles of freedom extended to the Black. The one, accustomed to war; the other, a disciple of the "Peace Society;" the one the practical, the other the theoretical friend of the red man. Charles Sumner had for the first time entered the Senate this session. He occupies there a strange position; he does not belong to either of the two great parties, he is a Free Democrat, without any other political co-religionist than Hale of Maine, and Chase of Ohio. But he does not care for momentary success; he stands and falls with the principles he advocates, disclaiming a compromise.

Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, is the most brilliant orator of the Senate. A Frenchman by birth, he unites the advantages of European education with the republican experience of America. He understands the importance of the department of foreign affairs, and does not indulge in the national vanity, that America, though connected by commerce with the whole world, should maintain that political isolation which once was necessary for the growing State. He knows that the time has come, when the great Commonwealth has to take a seat in the council of nations, and to throw her weight in the scale in which the destinies of nations are weighed. He is an ornament of the Democratic party.

Amongst the members of the house none interested me

so much as Horace Mann, from Massachusetts,—the mild and simple-hearted statesman, the advocate of the oppressed, the great reformer of the schools of Massachusetts. His merits are less ostentatious than those of others of his colleagues, but his influence is as lasting as the universal esteem for the purity of his character. The present school-system of his State is his monument.

The Navy-yard at Washington, though smaller in size than similar establishments in England or France, is remarkable for the improvements of the machines for the fabrication of arms and ammunition. The bullets are cut here, not cast; the testing of the brass for guns was novel to me; I saw some improvements on the locks of the cannons, and on their carriages; and a new method for the construction of shells, which enables one to determine the distance at which they are to burst. The liberality of the government allowed us not only to see, but also to examine all the details of the construction, which, in Europe, are jealously guarded like secrets of state.

The Patent Office is a kind of historical museum and exhibition of American industry. Samples of all the improvements and inventions, which have been patented by the United States, show the progress of the inventive genius in America. A series of the tools, weapons, clothing, and embroidery of the Indian tribes, are specimens of native industry; an ethnological collection from the South Sea, stuffed American animals, specimens of coal and ore, offer an interesting source of instruction, though the museum is far from complete. But the readiness and kindness with which the gentlemen superintending the office give every explanation, and especially all the statistical details about the manufactures and agriculture of the United States, afford an insight into the present condition and capability of the fabrication, and the increasing production of the Union.

The monuments of Washington city are very poor. Not far from the White House, stands the substruction on which the national monument to General Washington is to be raised. Every State and territory has sent a block of native stone to adorn it, but the national subscription has gone on languidly for a score of years, and has not yet reached the amount at which the monument could be completed. The enthusiasm for the "Father of the Nation," expands the hearts, but does not open the pockets of his children. They excuse themselves by saying that the constitution and the prosperity of the Union is his finest monument. The past generation had conquered independence in a shorter time than the present requires to erect a stone in its remembrance. The rostrated column in honour of the naval heroes of America, at the foot of the Capitol, is a work of Carrara manufacture, not of art; poor in conception and in execution. Greenough's sitting marble colossus of Washington, in the garden of the Capitol, is a fine piece of modern sculpture. But it is not a Washington, it is a *Jupiter Americanus*, an idealised portrait in the costume of a Greek god. Opposite to him, before the colonnade of the Capitol, stands Columbus, in mediæval armour, stepping forth and raising a ball in his right hand; behind him a half crouching female figure seems to be ashamed of her bareness,—only a little strip of drapery covers her. It is difficult to understand the real meaning of the Italian artist who sculptured this group. It is said, he wished to embody the idea that Columbus had conquered the globe for science, and discovered America hiding herself. But the ludicrous position of the great seafarer has long ago acquired for the statue, the name of the "nine-pin player," and one of my friends gave me a much more clever explanation of the subject, connecting it with the statue of Washington in the centre of the garden. "The globe," said he, "is evidently too

small for the whole earth: it is here merely a symbol of America, and Columbus, disgusted by Spanish ingratitude, is just in the act of throwing it to the Yankees, represented by their great President. You see how he raises his hand to catch it. And the statue behind Columbus, is evidently Spain, ashamed of being stripped of all her American provinces. The scanty drapery is the symbol of *Cuba*, and it is yet a question, whether annexation will not deprive her even of this last piece of her once gorgeous attire."

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE RED RACE.

### I. THE HUNTER NATIONS.

In the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, where a series of paintings records the principal facts of the history of North America, from the first arrival of the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock, to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York Town, two bas-reliefs, facing one another, are devoted to the relation of the white to the red man. They typify the history of this race in contact with the Anglo-Saxons. On one side we see William Penn, buying land from King Tammany; on the other, Daniel Boone, attacked by two red men, slaying them both. These two representations contain, in the smallest compass, the beginning, the progress, and the final result of the contact between the race of Hunters and that of Agriculturists. Even the conflict of the keeper of the sheep and the tiller of the ground, ended fatally for the nomade in the history of Abel and Cain; and from that time, down to our days, the moveable tent and the fixed house have often been in war with one another, but the co-existence of the hunter and of the ploughman in the same country is utterly impossible. It is not only the constant encroachment of the agriculturists on the hunting-ground, by the extension of the tilled soil, but even the noise of the village, the clearing of the woods, the roads which connect the distant settlement, and the regular intercourse on them, frighten the deer, drive away the wild buffalo, and de-

prive the Indian of his means of subsistence. Pressed back by progressive civilisation, seeing his supply of game constantly diminishing, in the presentiment of his ultimate fate, he rushes upon the settlements of the whites, and destroys them: a war ensues; the bravest of his race fall in the strife, victims of the superior skill, and often of the treachery of their white enemies, whilst the remnant of the tribe, decimated by imported vices and diseases, lingers for a time, mixes with the oppressors, and is absorbed by them through a generation of half-breeds. The red race in North America is doomed to extinction. The activity of the Anglo-Saxons is fatal to every idle race; they are the great colonisers of the modern age, but not the civilisers of savage nations. Wherever they settle, the inferior race is swept away from the country, and even amongst the harmless Polynesians of the South Sea, it became a proverb and a prophecy, that "The coral is spreading, the palm-tree is growing, but men are vanishing."* And this process of extermination is nowhere more rapid than in North America, for reasons easily assigned.

In the old Continent, the table-land of Asia, that hive

* One of the western chiefs, in conversation with an American of note, who was his friend, explained their fate practically. Whilst speaking about his tribe and the proposals of the government, he requested permission to sit down on the bench on which the American was seated, as it was large enough to hold them both. Their talk became more animated, the Indian always drew nearer, the American yielded without perceiving it, until at length he was sitting at the edge of the bench; when the Indian gave him suddenly a slight push, which threw him to the ground. The American was highly indignant at this behaviour; but the Indian rose and said, "Be quiet, I did not do more than what you do with my nation. First, you require but a small place on the territory; the country (as you say) is large enough for you and for us; imperceptibly you advance and we recede, till at last a slight effort drives us away from our home. You are indignant, because you fell down from the bench, on which you always can sit again; what shall we do, for whom the inheritance of our fathers is to be lost for ever?"

of nations, Tartary, the original country of the wheat and rye, is studded with herds of wild cattle (yaks, *not* the American bisons), with horses and camels, with flocks of wild sheep and goats, undisturbed by carnivorous animals. All the indispensable conditions of civilised life were here always at hand for the hordes of horsemen, pouring down into the valleys of China, of India, of the Oxus, and the rivers of Mesopotamia. Corn and domesticated animals were soon distributed over the whole world, which became the abode of nomade and agricultural populations, provided everywhere with domesticated animals. Even the extreme habitable North has its reindeer, the desert its camel, the torrid zone its elephant. A nation subsisting entirely on the chase, in all more recent times, has been unknown in Europe, as well as in Asia, since there is no country all over the Old World which would have game enough for the maintenance of a race of hunters; and wherever a country abounded in game, agriculture and carnivorous animals checked their increase.

The Northern part of the New World presents in this regard a different aspect; we do not find here any traces of indigenous domesticated animals. The elk of the forest, and the "buffalo" (bison) of the prairies have not been tamed. Before the Europeans imported cows and sheep, the Indians did not know either milk or wool. But, on the other side, neither are there lions or tigers, hyenas or jackals, panthers or leopards; the grizzly bear of the mountains, and the lynx of the forests is scarce, and the prairie wolves are not larger than our dogs, unable to cope with the buffalo or the moose (elk): game therefore abounded in the valley of the Mississippi. Innumerable herds of buffaloes roamed over the prairie; turkeys perched on the trees, and fur-skinned animals—from the squirrel and racoon to the sable and the beaver—peopled the woods, the plains, and the streams. The red man be

came almost by necessity a hunter; and as the period of the growth of maize, the indigenous American corn, is of short duration—some species ripen in fifty days—he was only for that short time bound to the ground, even where he occasionally sowed his corn. Depending for his subsistence on his good luck in the chase, he could not acquire regular habits. His physical condition varied between superabundance of food and starvation, between laziness and over-exertion. Accustomed to blood, and instructed by the chase in cunning and stealth, he became a cautious warrior. Though every tribe had its own hunting-ground, the natural uncertainty of such extensive boundaries, which could not easily be defined, led to frequent collisions. The customs of the people became sanguinary; no youth was allowed to marry before he could prove his bravery by the scalp of a slain enemy; and those whose wigwams were adorned by the greatest number of scalps, were the braves and great men of the nation. War became popular with them; it gave the only opportunity of getting scalps and renown; thirst of revenge renewed the wars, and the internecine warfare amongst the tribes prevented their increase, or any extensive political union amongst them. They adore but one God, "the Great Spirit;" like the Persians of old, they do not lie, nor do they speak a word in vain. Eloquent in council, they are silent in daily intercourse; unbent by physical tortures, untired in war or hunting, cruel against their enemy, but kind and hospitable towards those whom they spare, and ready to adopt the foreigner into their tribe. They have a noble and aristocratical stamp. But they are hunters; agriculture and every kind of labour is abomination to them; it is under their dignity to work; the squaw has to toil, the man but to fight, to hunt, to play, and to speak in council. This character, naturally developed by the abundance of game, and the original absence of domesticated

animals in North America, made a deadly conflict unavoidable, as soon as an active agricultural race settled amongst them—whatever good intentions the settler might have had to respect the Indian rights.

Though all the American Indians, from the Arctic circle down to Cape Horn and the Terra del Fuego, belong to the same great race, yet they were always divided into innumerable tribes, especially on the shores of the Atlantic up to the Alleghanies. The inhabitants of New England were called the "fishing people;" small tribes, often in war with one another. Yet more disunited and feeble were the "bushes;" more than a full score of tribes of obscure origin and inferior note, who peopled the shores of New York. More important was the confederacy of tribes in Virginia, which was directed by the celebrated Powhattan, at the time of the first English settlement. Numerous small tribes of less note lived on the southern coast, where now flourish the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The mightier nations had occupied the valley of the Mississippi, and the country of the Lakes. The most important of them were the five confederated nations, whom the French called Iroquois. It was a confederacy of the Mohawks "of the great tree;" the Oneidas "of the everlasting stone;" the Onondagas "of the great mountain;" the Cayugas "of the dark forest;" and the Senecas "of the open country;" who in the eighteenth century received the Tuscarooras as sixth nation into the union. All of these tribes were warlike, their territory proper extended from the Hudson river to Lake Erie, and from the Ontario to the Alleghanies. But all the "bushes" in New York, and the "fishing people" of New England were under their protection, and the tribes of the Ohio and Upper Mississippi, were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the mighty Iroquois. Next in importance, but often subservient to them, were the Illinois

confederacy along the Illinois and the Ohio; the Wyandots (Hurons) on the Lakes; the Shawanese and Delawares, who had removed from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, across the Alleghanies; the Sioux (Nadovessioux of the French), the Sacs and Foxes, the Ottoways and Ojibbeways in the north-west; the Natchez, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, the Creeks and Cherokees on the lower Mississippi. Yet farther in the plains of Texas and New Mexico, roamed the mighty Comanches, the most numerous and most energetic of all the Indian nations, but the first settlers did not come into contact with them.

Similar relations, as on the Atlantic side, subsisted on the Pacific shore, the tribes of the coast were less numerous, and the bulk of the nations resided on the mountains and table-lands, from the Nevada to the Sierra Madre (rocky mountains).

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois were at the height of their power, the Illinois confederacy was declining, the Southern tribes prospered.

## II. DIFFERENCE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS, THE FRENCH, AND THE ENGLISH, TOWARDS THE INDIANS.

The Continent of North America was settled in the seventeenth century, and was held nearly until our days, by three different nations of Europe, the Spaniards, the French, and the English. All of them were guided originally by cupidity; they went to North America in search of gold, gems, and pearls. The silver mines of Mexico did not suffice to account for the gold treasures found by Cortez, in the halls of Montezuma; the belief in a gold country, of El Dorado, as well as the hope of discovering a western passage to the East Indies, maddened all the

adventurous minds of Europe. Del Soto and Sir Walter Raleigh, La Salle and d'Iberville, all dreamt of those treasures which were sought for in vain in Florida and Virginia, in Guiana and Louisiana. In all the first settlements we find goldsmiths and assayers amongst the settlers; and the old instructions for the chiefs of the bold colonists, contain often the injunction, not to return before finding either gold or the western passage. A popular tradition, yet more extravagant, placed the fountain of youth, which, according to the Persian and mediæval tales, effaced all the traces of age, in the unknown interior of this Continent. But after many sad failures, all those hopes and dreams were set at rest, and the three nations pursued colonisation, each in its own way, until at last a new nation sprang up, inheriting and swallowing up the result of all previous toils. Under the rule of this sober and unfantastical people all the old traditions and hopes were realised. The western passage was established by the canal of San Juan de Nicaragua, and the railway of Panama, El Dorado was discovered in California, and the spring of youth, not for the individuals but for mankind, was found in the free institutions and unbounded liberty of the United States.

The settlements of the Spaniards, the French, and the English, were conducted according to different principles; each of these natives pursued a different policy towards the Indian tribes. Ponce de Leon, del Soto and Cabrillo had already in the sixteenth century, discovered Florida, the Mississippi, and California; and, in the seventeenth and eighteenth, several settlements were planted on the shores of the Atlantic, of the Gulf, and of the Pacific. Spain, therefore, claimed all the land east of the Mississippi, lying south of the thirty-first degree, and all west of that river to the ocean. English settlements along the Atlantic shore, in New England, Virginia, the Carolinas

and Georgia, extended in the eighteenth century, actually to the Alleghanies; but the charter of the Colonies granted to them all the country from ocean to ocean, whilst the French formed their northern settlements on the St. Lawrence, in Canada, Nova Scotia, and on the Lakes; discovered the upper part of the Mississippi; planted a series of military posts along its banks, and colonised its delta, Louisiana. They of course, by right of discovery and of actual possession, claimed all the country from the Alleghanies westward to the Pacific. The claims covered and overlapped one another. Collisions and wars ensued; and the Indians, to whom the causes of the war were explained, in order to induce them to take part in the contest, asked, in astonishment at such revelations, "If Spaniards and French claim all the country to the west, and the English all to the east and west, where then is the country of the Indians?"

The policy of Spain, in respect to the Indians in the present territory of the United States, was a mild one. On the Atlantic side the intercourse with the aborigines was unimportant; restrictive laws impeded extensive settlements in the provinces, and even any larger emigration from the mother country. The Spanish race is not prolific: they are but indifferent agriculturists; and they held therefore only a few commercial settlements in Florida, which seldom were involved in Indian wars; and when the French possessions of Lower and Upper Louisiana* were ceded to them, the strife with the Indians had already subsided. The Spaniards did not extend their settlements, and no further encroachments on the hunting-ground of the Indians provoked the self-defence of the hunters. But in Texas and in Upper California, the

* Upper Louisiana included all the country from the Mississippi westwards, the present States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, the territories of Minnesota, Nebraska, and even part of Oregon.

Roman Catholic clergy turned their attention to the rich land and to the Indians. The system which the Jesuits had carried on with success in Paraguay for many years, was adopted here by the Franciscans, and a condition of society was developed, which had scarcely its equal in the world, except in Paraguay and some remote parts of Peru. The monks succeeded in converting the Indians to a kind of Christianity, and induced them to an easy though regular work in fixed dwellings. It was no forcible intrusion on the hunting-grounds of the Indians, by extensive settlements; only some few Franciscans, backed by a small garrison, went on steadily with the work of civilisation, and kept the Indians in a state of mediæval feudal serfdom. They would have perhaps risen by degrees to even civilized freedom, had not the jealousy of Mexico, and the tide of Anglo-American conquest and settlements, swept away the theocratical schemes of the Franciscans, and cast back the semi-civilized Indians into the state of savage hunters in the mountain fastnesses, where the collisions with the whites will soon exterminate them.

Padre Junipero Serra, of the begging order of St. Francis, was the founder of the missions in California. A church, a commodious habitation for the priests, storehouses, offices, workshops, granaries, horse and cattle pens, and school-rooms for the Indian youth, were built of sunburnt bricks (adobes), and the Indians were induced by good treatment, by presents, and by wages to attach themselves to the mission. They resided in the rancherias, little villages of conical huts, in the vicinity of the mission. A few soldiers protected the whole of the establishment against the incursions of hostile tribes; and the priest, who stood at the head of the mission, governed it with theocratical power, providing for the comforts of the monks, and the wants of the Indians by the products of the settlements,—cattle, sheep, horses, Indian corn, beans, peas,

olives, and grapes. The most lucrative product was the large cattle; they were the main support of the inhabitants of the territory, and their hides and tallow afforded active commerce with foreign vessels. The missions, twenty-one in number, extended above the coast from one extremity of the territory to the other, and though they did not require so much land for agriculture and pasturage, they maintained their title to the whole, in order to prevent settlements of foreigners, who would disturb the theocratico-patriarchal government. Thus, in the course of time the missions became so many little principalities, and all the Indians of the lowland were the subjects of the padres, cultivating their lands, pasturing their herds and flocks, and reverencing their masters with devout faith. The sight of those settlements was a most singular one; the spacious galleries, halls, and court-yards of the missions exhibited every sign of order and good government, and from the long *adobe* houses flanking them, and the rancherias around, an obedient crowd came forth at the sound of the morning and evening chimes. The tables of the padres were laden with the finest fruits, vegetables, and flasks of excellent wine from their own orchard, gardens, and vineyards. The stranger, who came that way, was entertained by them with lavish hospitality, and nearly all the commerce of the country with other nations was in their hands. Long habits of management and economy gave them an aptitude for business of every kind. It was in the seventeenth century, the country of Prester John in the West. Besides the small military guard, which was essential to every mission, four forts, or *presidios*, occupied by a few troops, under the command of the military prefect, protected the country against the Indians of the mountains. Farms, in the neighbourhood, were assigned for the use of the garrison, and the presidios were the depositories of the cattle and grain, furnished to them as taxes, from the missions.

But the Padre President had the control over the presidios; he was the supreme civil, military, and religious ruler of the province. A few pueblos, or towns, also grew up in the country; their first inhabitants were retired soldiers, many of whom married Indian women: it was a population of half-breeds and veterans, all trained to passive obedience, not likely to oppose the government of the padres. But the increasing wealth and prosperity of the missions and their abnormal semi-sovereignty excited the jealousy of the Mexican authorities, who in 1833 deprived them of their political power, so that the padres became merely curates, with only spiritual powers over their former Indian subjects. When thus they no longer could superintend the cultivation of the lands, the Indians relapsed into their former habits, abandoned the establishments, and returned to their hunting-grounds. The emigration from the United States poured in; the land of the missions was sold and granted away in 1845 by the Mexicans, and when the Americans became the masters of California, no trace was any longer left of the once flourishing missions.

The settlements of the French in the present territory of the United States were of a different kind. The religious element co-operated in their establishment, but it was not their main feature; though the search for gold remained the principal aim of the French, they soon found out, that the fur trade of America might also become a source of wealth to them. They settled in Quebec, and in order to strengthen their dominions, it was essential to establish missions amongst, and good friendship with, the Indians. Accordingly, they set to work, undeterred by the savage character of the red race. Bancroft has given an eloquent account of the trials, hardships, and endurance of the Franciscans and Jesuits, of Le Caron and Brebeuf, of

Allouez and Marquette, who explored the lakes, and discovered the Upper Mississippi.

The labours of those missionaries were directed by great statesmen. French America had the advantage of having, amongst its governors and settlers, men of genius, like Champlain and Frontenac, La Salle and Tonti, Iberville and Bienville. They soon took up the idea of forming a large empire in the basin of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi, and established, as a beginning of it, trading posts on the extremities of the lakes—on the head of the Ohio, on the mouth of the Wabash and Missouri, and all along the Illinois, the Red River, and the Mississippi, forming a military chain to connect the Canadas with the Louisianas. The marked features of these posts were the fort and the chapel, surrounded by patches of cultivated land, the compact village of the peasant, and the wigwams of the Indians. Their population was composed of a military commander, Jesuits, soldiers, traders and peasants, half-breeds and savages. Besides the commander, always a gentleman of education, the most prominent individual was here the merchant. He was the headman of the settlement, employed in procuring skins from the Indians, in exchange for manufactured goods. His agents were the "Coureurs de bois," either French or half-breeds, a hardy, licentious race, accustomed to labour and privations, skilled in fishing, hunting, and trapping, conversant with the character and habits of the Indians, seeking and finding them out in every island and forest of the Western waters: buying their furs and selling them European commodities. Agriculture was but little encouraged by the commander and the merchant, who always kept on good terms with the Indians; it was limited to a few patches of corn and wheat. The settlers, mostly Picards and Normandy peasants, content to live in peace and comfortable poverty,

easily produced on the fertile ground the amount of crops required for the post, and enjoyed the greatest part of their time in dancing, hunting, and fishing, without troubling their heads about the future. They were remarkable for their talent of ingratiating themselves with the warlike tribes around them, and for their easy amalgamation in manners and customs and blood. They did not attempt to acquire land from the Indians, or to settle, like the English, in scattered abodes. They built but a few villages, with narrow streets and contiguous houses, just as in the Old World, that they may enjoy one another's society. They were illiterate, but their manners were polite, hospitable, cordial; and, though their priests exercised an inquisitorial power over every class of the little commonwealth upon the lakes and in the valley of Mississippi, yet they did not interfere with their amusements and recreations. They easily could enjoy their happiness in this way, undisturbed by the Indians.

As the Kings of France did not countenance the great schemes of the French American governors, little attention was paid to the colonies. Emigration was not encouraged; exclusive companies, chartered by the crown, monopolised the fur trade, and, therefore, peace and friendship was easily kept with the Indians of the Algonquin race. But in Louisiana, where an agricultural French colony sprang up, collisions could not be avoided with the red men, and they resulted in the extermination, not only of the small tribes on the coast, but even of the mighty and half-civilised nation of the Natchez, which alone, amongst those in the present territory of the United States, had a fixed centre of government, and a regulated worship in a temple. In the North, too, along the lakes, the French were involved in a continuous border warfare, and sometimes in serious wars. They had made friendship with the Wyandots (Hurons), and protected them against their enemies,

the Iroquois. This amity lasted as long as the French maintained their sway in Canada.

The five nations became the allies of the English, by whom they were supplied with arms and ammunition, and incited first against the French, then against the Americans. But, in general, the French were liked by the Indians; the Western and Southern great tribes became their friends and auxiliaries. In the wars with the Natchez, in the South, and with the Iroquois in the North, the French always owed their success to the assistance of their red allies, who remained faithful to them, not only from enmity against the tribes at war with France, but yet more by their real attachment to the French.

The first English settlers in Massachusetts and Virginia, were as little disturbed by the Indians as the Spaniards and French had been. In fact, in 1621, Massasoit, great chief of the Wampanoogs, in Massachusetts, made a treaty, that "neither he nor his should injure any of the English; that if any unjustly warred against him, they should aid him; and if any unjustly warred against them, he would aid them." Of all European settlers, the English alone recognised the right of the Indians to their own soil, and (from the time of Lord Delaware and William Penn) bought their land before occupying it. Yet this punctilious respect of property was connected with domestic institutions which proved fatal to the Indians. Religious and military despotism weakened the Spanish and French colonies, clipped their ambition, hampered their trade, checked their extension, and, by thus depressing all their energies, removed fear and anxiety from the minds of the natives. But the Englishman made fearless by his purchase of the soil, and accustomed to act for himself—instead of living under the eye of a jealous governor, settled in the midst of the natives, and held free intercourse with them as with men who could take care of their own interests. He sold to them

muskets and brandy, without troubling his head as to the consequences, and he imparted to them the small-pox and other diseases. From this, and from the activity of his noisy industry or sport, the natives gradually discovered that his peace was as pernicious to them as his war; nor could the most sagacious of them imagine any other remedy than that of violently expelling the foreigner. The great and treacherous assaults began from the natives, but they were retaliated with equal perfidy and more wholesale destruction.

Still, these causes would not have sufficed to bring about so quickly the extermination of the indigenous inhabitants, had they not been implicated in European feuds, which turned their soil into a battle-ground, and always left them to the vengeance of the conqueror. In each successive collision, the same tragedy seems to be repeated; and, however great the defeats suffered by the English race, the uniform result is, the disappearance of tribes or their removal farther West.

In 1622, the very year after Massasoit's treaty, a great chieftain of the Southern confederacy in Virginia, by name Opechankanough, treacherously fell on the settlers around Jamestown, and massacred them unresisting. In Massachusetts, where Massasoit proved faithful, it was not until 1675, that such a catastrophe ensued. King Philip, son of Massasoit, foreseeing the inevitable extinction of his tribe by peace, precipitated by war the result which he feared. This was the first attempt at a general confederation of the natives against the English.

The French war of 1754-63 against England—which originated in the contest of Frederick of Prussia, and the Empress Maria Theresa, for the province of Silesia, but extended to their allies, the English and French, and was transferred across the ocean into the heart of the American nation—prepared new convulsions in the far West. In

the course of it, pioneers had explored Kentucky, and colonial armies had crossed the Alleghanies; at the close of it, France ceded Canada, and all her rights east of the Mississippi. The Indians saw, with amazement and alarm, English settlers flock over the mountains, and fix their habitations in the Ohio valley. The English government, having recently conquered these Indians, when in French alliance, had no thought of asking their leave to occupy the soil; while the Indians could not understand the validity of the cession which the French had made without consulting them. In the course of this war, a Delaware chief asked a Moravian missionary, who was trying to draw the Western tribes over to the English side, "Why did you not fight your battles at home or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them? The white people think we have no brains in our heads; that they are big, and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake, you cannot find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it."

In fact, the English now sustained the most dangerous combined attack which ever came upon them, from the influence of Pontiac, an Ottowa chief. His eloquent arguments persuaded many distant tribes to lay aside their rivalries, and unite against the foreigner; and his extraordinary tact, taking advantage of the very critical state of events, kept the impending danger a profound secret to the English. He united the tribes from Lake Michigan to the frontiers of North Carolina. His voice was heard in the North and in the West, preaching the revelation of the Great Spirit, who was heard in his dreams to say to them all, "Why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country, and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! When you are in distress, I will help you."

On the appointed day, the English settlers, traders, soldiers, and forts, were attacked simultaneously upon a

line of some thousand miles. Stratagems and treachery, cautiously preconcerted by the master-mind of Pontiac, were directed against all the forts. Nine of them were at once overpowered; unsparing massacre followed success. Yet, against Detroit, Pontiac himself failed, his plot having been betrayed by an Indian woman. The attack on Fort Pitt and Niagara was also unsuccessful. These three forts were forthwith closely invested; but the French gave no help in the siege, the English garrisons held out obstinately, the Indians became disheartened, and their mutual jealousies revived. The English treated with the tribes separately, and Pontiac was deserted.

After this critical war, the tide of English emigration set in more strongly than ever across the Alleghanies. The Iroquois claimed the soil, as lords paramount of the Western tribes; but when, in 1768-70, the English government chose to buy up the title, the Shawanese and Delaware deputies refused to sign the treaties. The white man's conscience, however, was quieted when the Iroquois and the Cherokees had ceded the land to him; and a border-warfare necessarily followed. Single Indians were killed by the frontier men, and were revenged by the murder of whites. Captain Cresap slew, by mistake, a boatful of friendly Indians, in retaliation for a theft of horses; and then, knowing that his offence was inexpiable, sought to obviate its consequences by a wholesale butchery of all red men around Captina. His ferocity was seconded and outdone by Daniel Greathouse, at the head of a band of thirty ruffians, who had been immortalised by the treacherous murder at Yellow Creek, of the family and friends of Logan, the Mingo chief, celebrated as "the white man's friend." In many such horrible and heartless frays (for the white man became brutalized by the conflict), the Indians were so overpowered, that they prayed for peace to Lord Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia; but he would

not grant it. Both he and the settlers, since they found themselves the stronger, were glad that a war had arisen, which could enable them to expel the Indians from the eastern side of the Ohio.

The principal Indian leader was now Cornstalk, the wise chief of the Shawanese. Having failed in his efforts for peace, he rallied all the tribes round him for a vigorous war. A great battle was fought at Point Pleasant, between the Ohio and Kanawha, in 1774, which the Indian tactics, and the energy of Cornstalk, long made doubtful. Victory was claimed by the Virginians, but they had lost a fifth of their entire number, and amongst them two colonels and sixteen captains. So severe a blow reminded Lord Dunmore of the injustice of the war; and he resolved to make peace, in spite of the resistance of the Colonists. Nothing short of his personal presence was able to arrest the march of their army. Peace at length was made, but Logan was no party to it. He disdained even to attend the conference; but to General Gibson, who was sent as an envoy to the Shawanese towns, he said:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and I gave him not meat; if ever he came cold or naked, and I gave him not clothing.

"During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent an advocate for peace; nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed by, and said: 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I have even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Captain Cresap, the last spring, in cool blood, and unprovoked, cut off all the relatives of Logan; not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge; I have sought it—I have killed many! I have fully glutted my revenge for my country! I rejoice

at the beams of peace. Yet, do not harbour the thought that mine is the joy of fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life; who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Logan was murdered by a hostile Indian; Cornstalk, with his son, fell a victim to the passions of the whites. He was decoyed in 1777 into the English fort, at Point Pleasant, to be kept as a hostage for the good behaviour of his countrymen, and, on the third day, ferociously slaughtered, in spite of the governor's opposition, when news arrived that a white hunter had been shot. So fell the great warrior, whose singular name had been bestowed upon him by the consent of the nation, to indicate that he was their greatest strength and support.

## III. THE PRAYING INDIANS.

Originally the conflicts between the Indians and English were the natural consequences of the collision between hunter and agriculturist. But, after the war had begun and blood had been spilt for a whole century, it was no longer of any avail for the red man to exchange the rifle for the plough, and the moveable wigwam for a fixed settlement. Moravian missionaries had carried the gospel among the Delawares; they had overcome their distrust; they had escaped the plots of the savages against their lives; they had converted some leading Indians; and their pure and truly Christian life of kindness and resolution, had a deep influence on the Wyandots in the neighbourhood. The converts increased daily; they settled on the Muskingum, in three communities; distinguished by their meekness, industry, and religiousness. They had accepted the gospel by conviction, and observed, therefore, its injunctions with more devoutness than the whites, as all pri-

mitive nations do with the tenets of a religion new to them. They were hospitable towards every stranger, whether white or red; and when the revolutionary war began in 1775, they had not learnt to make any distinction between English and Americans, or the allies of each of them. They entertained every party which crossed the settlement with the same kindness, and furnished supplies to them. Friends of peace, and believing war a sin against God, they did all they could to prevail on the Ohio Indians to live in peace; and when they knew of any hostile parties intending an attack on the settlements, they sent runners, and gave them a timely warning. But in times of war the peaceful becomes an offence to both the belligerents. The "*praying* Indians," as they were called, were suspected by both the English and Americans. The English auxiliaries, the Wyandots, thought they betrayed the red man's interests to their white co-religionists, and the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier-men were convinced that they favoured their savage brethren. The English determined at last to remove them from the American boundary, and in 1781, the Iroquois, who acted as lords paramount of the West, were asked at a council to have the "praying Indians" carried away. The subject was considered by the six nations at Niagara, but they declined to do it themselves; they therefore sent a message to the Ottowas and Ojibbeways, with the words: "We herewith make you a present of the Christian Indians, to make soup of." Both the tribes declined the treat; they returned for answer: "We have no cause for doing this;" and sent the message of the Iroquois on to the Wyandots, who, led by Simon Girty, an American Tory partisan of the English, came suddenly upon the settlements, and carried a large number of Indians and their teachers off from their towns to the English fort. But their houses and fields were spared, and their cattle remained in the woods. The

English commander, after having treated them severely, at last suffered some of their number to return in February, 1782; others remained under English "protection." The Americans, seeing that the English had released some of the Christian Indians, took it for an evidence of their treachery and secret understanding with the enemy; and, as several families were killed during winter along the Ohio, by the savage Delawares, those massacres were imputed to the "praying Indians." Colonel Williamson, therefore, collected an irregular force of about one hundred men, and made a rapid march on the Muskingums, proposing to capture and remove the "Moravian Indians" to Pittsburg, and to destroy their houses and fields. He arrived on the 9th of March, when a number of the people were at work in their corn-fields. As the hostile force appeared, they ran to their village of "Gnadenhutte"—(the cottage of mercy).—There they were told that they are to be removed to Pittsburg, for protection during the war, and were directed to enter two houses, the males in one, the females in the other. The inhabitants of the neighbouring village, Salem, were also decoyed there; after which they were bound, and well guarded.

The commander of the party held in the evening a council, to determine how the "Moravian Indians" should be disposed of; he put the question, whether they should be taken prisoners to Pittsburg, or put to death. Of some ninety men present, only seventeen voted for mercy; it was therefore announced to the Indians that they had to prepare for death. The poor victims spent the night in prayers and in singing hymns; in the morning they were murdered in cold blood, by guns, tomahawks, and hatchets, in number forty men, twenty-two women, and thirty-two children. The buildings were then set on fire, and the bodies partially consumed.

But the revenge did not delay. Elated by this easy

success, and maddened by the frequent murderous incursions of the Wyandots, the frontier-men organised, in June, a new expedition against the Indians on the Ohio, against the "praying Delawares," as well as against the bloody Wyandots. It was determined not to spare any Indian, friend or foe, man, woman, or child; they were all to die. The commander of this expedition, Colonel Crawford, accepted this office with reluctance; he had the presentiment of evil. The party advanced, but found the native towns deserted, and as they marched through the Sandusky plains they were suddenly attacked by the Indians. After a severe contest, the whites were forced to retreat, pursued by the Indians through the woods. Many of the invaders left the main body during the retreat for easier escape, others lost their way or remained behind, broken by weariness; but all those were taken by the Indians, and nearly all of them tortured to death, as retaliation for the murder of the Moravians. Colonel Crawford, formerly Washington's agent in the West, was amongst the prisoners · he was scalped and roasted alive, though Simon Girty made an effort to save his life.

## IV. FRONTIER-MEN, THE GIRTYS, WETZELS, AND DANIEL BOONE.

The result of the long protracted border warfare was not only the decimation of the Indian tribes, but also the debasement of character in the frontier-men. In the continuous war with the savages, they had become themselves savages. Men like the Girtys and Wetzels were not uncommon, though the conflict of races begat also heroes like Daniel Boone.

*Simon Girty* was a native of Pennsylvania; his father an Irish emigrant, was killed by the Indians; his mother

married again. All the family was taken captive by the red men in 1755. Their home was destroyed, the step-father burnt at the stake, and the mother and brothers were scattered amongst the tribes. *George* was adopted by the Delawares and lived with them until his death, fighting the battles of the tribes against the whites with fearless intrepidity. Free from the cares of an ambitious world and the vexations of domestic life, he passed his time in that happy state of ease, indolence, and independence, which is the aim of the life of the savage. *James* was given to the Shawanese, who trained him in all the arts of savage warfare. In return he remained faithful to the tribe which had adopted him, and was a leader of their marauding parties into Kentucky; cruel, ferocious, and hard-hearted more than an Indian. *Simon* had been adopted by the Senecas, and became an expert hunter. Set free upon an exchange of prisoners in 1758, he returned to Western Pennsylvania, and distinguished himself as a soldier and spy in Lord Dunmore's army, during the expedition against Cornstalk, in whose ranks his brother *James* fought the battle of Point Pleasant. But soon after, when the revolutionary war began, Simon Girty left his home in the Alleghanies, and joined the English. He heartily admired their institutions, and despised the American "rebels" as a good Tory. He removed to Sandusky, where he kept a trading house, and soon obtained great influence amongst the North Western Tribes, whom he maintained in their attachment to the English interests, and whom he often led against the "rebels." The atrocities committed, under his sanction, have been exaggerated by rumour, and magnified by the resentment of the Americans against the renegade. At that time such crimes were common to the Indians and all the frontier men, English and Americans. Yet Girty's name remains even now coupled with the execrations of the Westerners. He

saved, indeed, the life of one of the celebrated Kentucky pioneers, Simon Kenton, who, during the war of independence, had been taken prisoner by the Indians, in the act of carrying away their horses, and was already tied to the stake in order to be burnt. Girty prevailed to get a respite for him, pleading that Kenton had been his fellow-soldier, and had shared his blanket; then he applied to Logan, "the white man's friend," and through him gained the release of the pioneer. But this act of humanity did not redeem Girty's treason against his country, and the cruelties perpetrated by the Indians, whom he led against his former friends and fellow-citizens.

He remained always the enemy of the Americans, and the friend of the English. He often commanded their red auxiliaries during the revolutionary struggle, but did not instruct them in European laws of war. They carried it on, with the sanction of the English commanders, not only against the armies, but also against the individuals of the hostile nation, in the barbarous style of antiquity. After the war, he followed the English to Canada; but in 1812 he was again in their ranks with his red friends, and fell in the battle on the Thames, in Canada.

The early history of the Wetzels bears a strong resemblance to that of the Girtys. John Wetzel, a German, of Pennsylvania, crossed the Alleghanies with the first pioneers, and built his cabin at some distance from the fort of Wheeling, which was to protect the neighbourhood from the incursions of the Indians. He soon had to pay for his temerity; the Indians made an attack upon his house, killed the old man and captured two of his sons, *Lewis* and *Jacob*, whilst Mrs. Wetzel and two other sons escaped. The boys were carried away as prisoners, but their extreme youth—thirteen and eleven—induced the savages to neglect their usual precaution of tying them at night.

The boys availed themselves of this inadvertence and escaped, but returned twice to their captors; first to get *moccasins*, as they were barefooted, and then to carry off the gun of their father from their enemies asleep. They had the good luck not to be perceived, and when their escape was at last noticed, not to be overtaken. Though pursued, they safely reached the Ohio, crossed the river on a raft of their own making, and arrived at Wheeling on the third day. As they found their home destroyed, and their father murdered, they took an oath to revenge themselves on the Indians. War was the business of their life, and Lewis became the most renowned Indianhunter of the backwoods. He hunted the savages like buffaloes or elks, prowling through their country slily, and watching a favourable opportunity of killing a red man. He is said to have slain in the region of the upper Ohio alone, twenty-seven of the red race, not sparing even those who were friendly to the settlers. The chiefs of the tribes were his especial aim, and once he killed one of them who came under assurances of safety to Colonel Broadhead's camp. Though very popular amongst the frontier-men, on account of his intrepidity, with which he had attacked single-handed a score of Indians, his reckless conduct could not longer be tolerated. General Harmar outlawed him and put a price upon his head, when after the conclusion of peace with the Indians, Wetzel continued his private war. But the Indianhunter had no fixed abode; he lived in the woods like his enemies, and it lasted long before he was secured and brought to Fort Pitt. Yet even captivity could not subdue or tame his reckless character. Handcuffed as he was, he escaped from Pittsburg, and returned to his old bloody trade. When he was a second time captured, General Harmar sentenced him to death, but all the settlers around threatened to rise in insurrection against the General for the rescue of Wetzel.

Harmar therefore released him, but the Indianhunter soon disappeared, probably slain by some Indian, after having, with his three brothers, taken more than one hundred scalps in revenge of their father's death.

Whilst the fearless courage and undaunted energy of the Girtys and Wetzels were bent exclusively on destruction, and their name raised a shudder, the patriarch of Kentucky, Daniel Boone, endowed with similar qualities, turned them to a nobler account. He explored Kentucky, traversing the country in every direction, often attacked by the Indians, who had killed his companions, and once taken prisoner himself. For two years he lived with his brother exclusively on deer and buffalo; without the simplest commodities of civilised life; without bread and salt; without even a dog to keep their camp. Charmed by the attractions of the ultramontane country, he sold his farm in North Carolina, and with his family and friends, who were the first settlers on the lower Ohio, removed to Kentucky, relying on his own energies in the inevitable warfare with the Indians. Their life was a series of toils and hardships. They erected Fort Boonesborough as a centre for the settlement; they cleared the woods and tilled the ground, though continually interrupted by the attacks of their red neighbours. Boone's daughter was carried away by them, but he rescued her immediately; twice he was taken by the Shawanese, who, admiring his energy, and respecting his character, adopted him into their tribe. But in the meanwhile, a party of them prepared to attack his beloved Boonesborough, the stronghold of Kentucky—during the absence of the courageous chief. Informed of their determination, he escaped, arrived in time to repair the fort in order to meet the imminent attack, and so gallantly sustained the siege of the Indians led by English officers, that they were at last obliged to

raise it. "Two darling sons and a brother," wrote Boone, "have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses and an abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument to settle the wilderness."

He had explored, settled, and defended the wilderness of Kentucky, against the red and the white, from 1769 to 1783, but he had neglected to get a clear title to his estate. He was a hunter, a pioneer, a warrior, in fact a great man, but no lawyer. In 1798, the courts found his legal title to the lands he occupied imperfect; he was dispossessed of them. In his indignation, he fled from the region, which he had explored when a wilderness, and which now had already a population of half a million, all indebted to him for their safety, and passed over to the Spanish dominions on the Missouri. But the cruel law of his country soon followed him to his last asylum. In 1812, he addressed a memorial to the legislature of Kentucky, stating, that he owned not an acre of land in the region which he first settled, that he had passed over into the Spanish province of Louisiana, under an assurance from the governor at St. Louis, that land should be given him; that accordingly 10,000 acres were really granted to him on the Missouri, by the Spaniards, for whom he never had done anything; but that on the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, his claims had been rejected by the land-commissioners, because he did not actually reside on his grant; and that thus, at the age of eighty, he was a wanderer, having no spot of his own where to lay his bones. The legislature instructed their delegates to Congress to solicit a confirmation of his grant, and he retained 2000 acres. In his old age he pursued his accustomed course of life, trapping bears, and hunting deer and buffa-

loes with his rifle. In his manhood he was a magistrate, a member of the legislature of Virginia, and much engaged in agriculture, yet he always preferred the solitude of the wilderness to the honours of civil office and the society of men. He died at the house of his son, in 1820, aged nearly ninety years. In his last years he often has been seen by travellers, at the door of his house, with his rifle on his knee, and his faithful dog at his side, lamenting the departed vigour of his limbs, and meditating on the scenes of his past life.

## V. TECUMSEH, AND BLACK HAWK.

Who could speak about Indians without mentioning their greatest man, Tecumseh, as able and enterprising as Pontiac, as eloquent as Logan, as brave as Cornstalk, and as unfortunate as all the three?

His father, a Shawanese chief, was slain in the battle of Point Pleasant. Tecumseh himself had, in early youth, distinguished himself among his tribe, in their encounters with the hunters of Kentucky, during and after the revolutionary war, and acquired an influence over his nation by his bravery, his sense of justice, and his eloquence. He was not acknowledged as chief of his own tribe, either in peace or war; he was but a brave, though he soon wielded greater power and influence than any chief. Not entirely unacquainted with the arts and sciences of the whites,—in fact he could read and write—pervaded by the loftiest patriotism, and fully aware of the ultimate fate of his race, unless the tribes were to attain the consistency of a nation, he not only took up the plans of Pontiac, but carried them further. Pontiac's aim was merely the destruction of the English forts in the west, by a sudden and simultaneous attack, but, beyond the defeat of his enemies,

he did not form, or at least not actively prepare, any scheme of future organisation. His success would have stopped for a while the progress of the settlers across the Alleghanies, and the tribes would have been again the undisturbed lords of the Mississippi valley, until, divided as before by internal feuds, without any common aim, they would have yielded to a new onset of the restless pioneers. His scheme was a good plan for a military campaign, drawn up by the genius of a warrior, and carried by all the cunning and astuteness of an accomplished statesman. But Tecumseh's aim was nobler,—it was not the destruction of the enemy, but the reformation of his own race, and the ultimate amalgamation of the tribes into one nation. If the result of Pontiac's conspiracy was more striking, the laborious endeavours of Tecumseh, though ultimately unsuccessful, were of a higher moral standard. He traced the rapid decline of the red man principally to the intemperate use of spirits, and to the hostility of the tribes amongst themselves: hence while the English, and later the Americans, were always able to war or to negociate with only one section of the Indians at a time, they were subdued and bought up piecemeal. His efforts were therefore directed to two principal points: the reformation of the savages, whose habits made them unfit for continuous exertion,—and the rousing of the feeling, that the interests of the Indians were identical, that therefore no treaty or sales of land to the United States, should be admitted without the united consent of all the tribes. He did not use any concealment, or originally meditate any hostility towards the United States, though it was easy to see that, in the long run, the aim of Tecumseh must lead to a conflict with the whites, who were just making treaties with the Delawares, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Wyandots, Miamies, Sacs and Foxes, buying up millions of acres,—all the land in the present States of Ohio, Illinois, and Indi-

ana,—and removing the tribes, who in the last century had receded from the Alleghanies to the Ohio, peaceably but steadily across the Mississippi.

The first step which Tecumseh took for the league of his race, was to unite Indians of different tribes around his person into one settlement, in order to soothe the hereditary ill feeling amongst them, and to establish the consciousness of an Indian nationality, which was to extinguish their interminable feuds. His personal influence over the Delawares, among whom he had previously dwelt, facilitated the success of this experiment. His settlement, first at Greenville, and later on the banks of the Tippecanoe in Indiana, was composed of Shawanese, Wyandots, Delawares, Pottowatomies, and Kickapoos, all united by their affection towards the great chief. Tecumseh, well aware that no reformation of nations ever has been carried without religious enthusiasm, now imparted his plan to his brother Elshwatawa, who was not less distinguished for his eloquence than the courageous chief himself. Elshwatawa accordingly began to dream dreams, and to see visions, of which the reports spread in the wilderness with the swiftness of the electric spark. The public mind was aroused, credulity and superstition began to extend its circles, until the fame of the prophet, and the divine character of his mission, pervaded all the Indian country. There was nothing precise in the prophecies, but their very vagueness imparted credit to the seer, who dazzled his hearers by a glowing picture of the future happy condition of the red man, and the restoration of the old traditional life of ease and enjoyment, if the tribes would believe his words, dictated by the great spirit. His precepts were purely moral; he preached humanity, peace, and goodwill among the tribes, and especially temperance and union. In a short time, pilgrims from remote tribes sought, with fear and awe, the head-quarters of the prophet; proselytes

were multiplied, and Tecumseh, the principal of the believers, mingled with the pilgrims. He won them by his address, and on their return, sent a knowledge of his plan of concert and union to the most distant tribes. The influence of the Shawanese brothers was growing. The power of life and death was placed in the hands of Elshwatawa, who was also appointed agent, for preserving the lands and property of the Indians, and for restoring them to their original happiness.

Having thus prepared his way, and created a centre for his agitation, Tecumseh set out, in 1809, to perambulate the country of the different tribes, on the Lakes, across the Mississippi, and in the South. He visited sometimes on his way General Harrison, at Vincennes, who was always busy in buying Indian lands for the government, and watching suspiciously the movements of the Shawanese brothers, though he could not find any fault with them. They did not deny that they had occasionally seen English officers and traders, who, perhaps in anticipation of the war of 1812, were encouraging the Indians to contend for their rights; but they disclaimed any part in the combination to attack the American settlements, which was discovered amongst the tribes on the Mississippi and Illinois. Nor is there reason to believe, that they were insincere in this respect. Their scheme was yet far from being ripe, and Tecumseh had no intention to fight the battle of the English, and to endanger his plans of reform and union by an untimely outbreak in favour of white foreigners. On the other side, he solemnly protested, in 1810, against General Harrison's treating with several tribes, contending that the treaties were illegal and unjust, as the territory ceded by them was not the property of any single tribe, but of the red men at large. The American government, of course, repudiated the new principle of the Shawanese brothers, that the purchases should be thenceforward made

from a council, representing all the tribes united as one nation, and the officials of the government began to see in Tecumseh "the successor of Pontiac." So strong was this impression, that in a council, held in 1811, in a grove of trees close to General Harrison's house, when Tecumseh began to speak with some vehemence on the wrongs inflicted upon the Indians by the whites, who had driven them from the seacoast, and would soon push them into the lakes, and declared that it was his intention to take a stand, resolutely opposing any further intrusion upon the Indian lands—the general repeated the scene between Pontiac and Major Gladwyn once more; he assumed a threatening attitude, guns were levelled on the Indians, and Tecumseh severely reprimanded, though his party had no guns under their blankets, and no treacherous disposition whatever. The council terminated by leaving on both parties the conviction that an ultimate conflict could not be avoided; but Tecumseh did not think it yet immediate, and went down to the South to seek allies amongst the Creeks and Cherokees, whilst his brother sent a message to the Delawares, to prepare for war. General Harrison strengthened himself for the contest without delay, by calling the militia, and proceeding, together with his regular reinforcement, directly upon Tippecanoe. The conflict being inevitable, it was desirable to have it ended before Tecumseh's plans had been matured, and the absence of the warrior favoured the enterprise. Though the general sent a message of peace to the prophet, he knew too well that the Indian fanaticism, raised by the appearance of a strong camp in the immediate vicinity of their sacred settlement, —the future centre of their nationality,—would induce them to accept a battle, so much the more, as the general's little army, scarcely 900 men, was not superior to the *Indian* forces.

*Harrison* was not deceived by his estimate of the red

man's character. In the morning of the 7th of November, he was furiously attacked. The prophet had given assurances to his followers, that the Great Spirit would render the arms of the Americans unavailing; that their bullets would fall harmless at the feet of the Indians, who would fight in full light, whilst their enemies would be involved in darkness. He continued his incantations and mystic rites during the battle, but, after a sharp action, his followers were routed. The loss of both armies was trifling —about one in twenty on each side; but the moral result of General Harrison's victory was immense. The prestige of the prophet was destroyed, the settlement of Tecumseh broken up, his village burnt, his camp trampled down, the tribes which had already joined in the confederacy were dismayed, and all further progress stopped.

Tecumseh, returning from the South, was deeply mortified, and reproached his brother in bitter terms, for having departed from his positive commands, to keep peace for the present, and avoid a conflict. But it was too late.

In the next year the war with England broke out, and Tecumseh, with his friends, followed the fortunes of the English. By his bravery and humanity—a rare virtue with an Indian—he got the appointment of brigadier-general in the English service; but he had the strong conviction that his star had set. He sought and found his death in the battle of the Thames. He deemed flight disgraceful, and stood his ground when the English were already defeated;—in life and in death the bravest of the Indian "Braves."

The last of the great Indian warriors was Black Hawk, a "Brave" of the Sacs and Foxes. He, too, made an attempt, like Pontiac, to unite all the Indians of the West, from Rock River to Mexico, in a war against the United States. *He had a prophet*, and objected to further sales of

land, like Tecumseh, but he was inferior to both of them —lacking their energy and perseverance. He trained his party to commit depredations on the fields of the frontiermen, who had settled on that territory, which his tribe had ceded to the United States, but he refrained from attacking or killing any person. His policy was, to provoke the Americans to make war on him, so that he might seem to fight in defence of Indian rights, for the graves of their father. So far he succeeded, but his feeble and unconcerted endeavours of union amongst the tribes, failed altogether. When in 1832, the hostilities began which he had provoked, he had but a fraction of his nation on his side, namely those who, being young and adventurous, were tempted by the hope of plunder and glory. The great majority of his nation, under Keokuck, their legitimate chief, remained in peace with the United States; and no other tribe ever joined Black Hawk. Defeated in two successive actions, his power was broken; he fled, was seized by the Winnebagoes, and delivered to the officers of the United States, at *Prairie du Chien.* He thought that his death was approaching. He did not expect anything else from his enemies, to whom he had done so much harm, and who always had systematically extirpated the red men. He resolved to die, like an Indian chief, and made a touching speech. He recited the wrongs of his nation, and his deeds, and then said:

"My warriors fell around me, it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. He is now a prisoner to the white man: but he can stand the torture; he is not afraid of death; he is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian; he has done nothing of which an Indian need to be ashamed. He has fought the battles of his country against the white

men, who came, year after year, to cheat them, and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war: it is known to all white men; they ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes: but the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak ill of the Indian, and look at him spitefully: but the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal. Black Hawk is satisfied: he will go to the world of spirits contented: he has done his duty—his Father will meet him, and reward him.

"The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse; they poison the heart; it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that they cannot fight one another when they feel themselves wronged; and there must be, as in the white settlements, nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order. Farewell to my nation! Farewell to Black Hawk!"

To his astonishment he was not put to death; the United States made a better use of their victory. Under the impression of Black Hawk's defeat, they made a new treaty with the Sacs and Foxes, by which they bought thirty millions of acres. The warrior was sent, with his family, as a hostage, to Fort Monroe; and soon after was allowed to return to his people, where he died a few years subsequent, having given up all attempts against the whites.

## VI. THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

It is easier to pity the red race, and to mourn over its fate, than to devise a plan for saving them from destruction, unless they give up their hunting propensities, and

turn either shepherds or agriculturists. A hunter requires ten times more territory than a nomade, and a hundred times more room than an agriculturist; besides, his moral and intellectual faculties never can be profoundly cultivated. The United States, which had successively bought up the lands of the Indians from the Alleghanies to the Ohio, from the Ohio to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi to the Missouri, felt their duty of providing them with an ultimate home, from whence they should not again be disturbed, and where, under the guidance of government officials, they might accustom themselves to agricultural and industrial pursuits. An immense tract, occupying all the country from the boundary of the state of Missouri to the frontiers of Texas, and from the Red River to the Kansas, was purchased of the wild tribes for a permanent abiding place for those Indians, who were removed from the settled part of the Union. This tract is called "the Indian Territory." The soil is fertile here, with excellent water; it is rich in minerals, and studded with fine timber. The whites are not allowed to settle in the Indian Territory. Traders may visit it; blacksmiths and gunsmiths, teachers and missionaries reside there with the permission of the chiefs and of the Indian agent, but no encroachment on the territory is permitted to the pioneer who covets its beautiful climate. The government has, besides, paid the costs of the transportation of the tribes, erected a portion of their dwellings, fenced and ploughed a part of their fields, furnished them horses and cattle, erected schoolhouses, supported the teachers, and made provision for the subsistence of the new emigrants. It forbids hostilities amongst them, but does not meddle further with their internal administration, though it recommends them to abolish the hereditary chieftainships, to make all the rulers elective, and to unite the tribes,—constituted in a certain similarity to the States,—under a general govern-

ment like that at Washington. Civilisation is thus put within the reach of the Indians. The plans of Tecumseh can here be carried on in peace, as the red men are protected during the epoch of transition against any attack or competition of their enterprising neighbours. They have, at last, got a fair trial for their energies, and they can now show whether they are able to endure the state of an agricultural society, or whether they are to be swept away by the tide of colonisation, with the elk, and deer, and buffalo; "improved off" from the face of the earth.

Several of the tribes have availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the United States. One nation of the Iroquois confederacy, the Senecas, exchanged the banks of the cool Lakes for the Italian climate of the Indian territory; the remnants of the Delawares, Shawanese, and Wyandots—for a century back hunted from the seashore westwards—found here a resting place. The shrunken tribes of the Illinois confederation—the Kickapoos, the Weas, the Ottowas, the Sacs and Foxes, retreated to this land of promise. The Ioways, who never have raised the tomahawk against the white men,—by entering this asylum, evaded hostile conflict with the Americans; but with the exception of these and the Pottowatomies, not one of the once formidable tribes numbers more than 1000 souls. They have, however, even by their wars been somewhat civilised. The Senecas and the Shawanese speak good English, and all of them receive annuities from the general government.

The great bulk of the population, in the Indian Territory, is made up of the Southern tribes. The Choctaws and Chickasaws, now merged into one nation, number above twenty-five thousand, including about one thousand negro slaves, and two hundred white men, married to Choctaw squaws. They have turned agriculturists; they

raise corn, flax, hemp, tobacco, and cotton, and have fine farms, cotton-gins, looms, and flour-mills. They apply about sixteen thousand dollars to education, and have given themselves a written constitution, a regular government, with legislative, executive, judicial, and military departments, and a national assembly, which meets annually on the first Monday in October. They are the leading nation of the territory. Next to them rank the Cherokees, twenty-two thousand in number, agriculturists and salt manufacturers; they live in log-houses, with stone chimneys and plank floors. In 1850 they had twenty-two schools, where above a thousand children were taught, and the orphans among them boarded and clothed at the expense of their orphans' fund.—The Creeks, including sixteen hundred Seminoles, number twenty-two thousand five hundred. They too, are aware of the necessity of a reformation of the Indian life, and keep pace with their neighbours, though they have not remodelled their forms of civil government.

The Northern tribes of the "territory," the Pawnees, the Osages and Kansas, the Otoes, Omahas and Puncahs, are the original occupiers of these lands; they receive annuities from the United States; but the great civiliser of rude mankind—war with superior races, and bold foreign invaders—has never roused their mental faculties, and awakened their moral feelings. They remain roving hunters and insolent thieves, demoralised by spirits, wasting by imported diseases, relying for their security on the protection, and for their subsistence on the annuities, of the government,—a lazy and lawless race. Perhaps the example of their Southern neighbours in the "territory," may at length stimulate them to greater exertions.

The efforts of the Choctaws surely deserve the most cordial approval of every friend of oppressed races. Conscious of the fatal consequences of intemperance, they had

attempted various plans for the suppression of their propensity for strong drinks. At last their national assembly took up the matter seriously, and passed the law, by acclamation, that each and any individual, who should henceforth introduce ardent spirits into the nation, should be punished with a hundred lashes on his bare back. The council adjourned, the members soon began to discuss among themselves, in private, the pernicious consequences which might result from the protracted use of the whiskey already in the shops. They concluded, that the quicker it was drunk up, the more promptly the evil would be over, and that it behoved the representatives of the tribe to take the evil upon themselves for their people. The temperance legislators, therefore, and their friends, running to the shops, consumed all the spirits in an incredibly short time. The news spread all over the nation, that all the whiskey must be drunk, the sooner the better; it was the last sacrifice to the demon of drunkenness, and the law has been ever since vigorously enforced, and also introduced among the Cherokees, to the lasting advantage of the nations.

Beyond the "Indian Territory," in the vast prairies of Nebraska, the tribes still live in the same way as when the first settlers appeared on the coast. The Sioux (Nadovessioux) are the most powerful and warlike nation amongst them, conquering and annihilating the smaller tribes, their neighbours, in the North and East. The Ojibbeways, who are too strong to be attacked by the Sioux, are peaceful, and seek no conquests. South of the Platte river is the home of the Apaches and the Camanches, a great, vagrant, and probably the most numerous tribe of the Indians,—well provided with horses,—residing but a few days in one place; in summer travelling north with the buffaloes, in pursuit of them traversing the Rocky Mountains by the South Pass, and returning on their trail, in winter, to the plains of Texas. A hardy, noble, enterprising race, hos

pitable to strangers, fond of white female children, whom they steal in Mexico. They are nearly unapproachable for an enemy, on account of the rapidity of their movements. Their conflict with the ever-advancing white pioneers will be a fearful one; and yet it is not to be avoided. The hunter never gives up his roving life, unless his power is first broken irretrievably, and he has become impressed with the utter impossibility of resisting the white agriculturist.

# CHAPTER VII.

## MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA.

### I. ANNAPOLIS.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

*Jan.* 14*th.*—Invited by Governor Lowe, of Maryland, to visit the capital of his State, we went by railway to Annapolis. It is one of the oldest cities of the United States, and boasts of an existence of about two centuries. It received its name in honour of Lady Anne Arundel, wife of Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, the "proprietor" of Maryland. At the time of the settlement, it was of considerably greater importance than Baltimore, and, with its excellent harbour on the Chesapeake, it seemed to contain all the elements of future prosperity. But Baltimore, situated higher up on the Bay, was nearer to the industrious parts of Pennsylvania, and became the outlet for the products of an extensive back country. Commercial energy and capital centred on the Rappahannock, and Annapolis remained in its colonial insignificance, a quiet country city, of a few thousand inhabitants, whilst her rival rose rapidly to the rank of the fourth city in North America, in wealth, population, and commercial note.

The capital of Maryland, erected on several hills without any regular plan, between the winding of the Severn and the majestic Chesapeake Bay, presents quite a different aspect from the new American cities, with their broad streets and avenues, intersecting at right angles, and lined with trees. It looks rather like a small European town;

some of the houses surrounded by gardens, according to the convenience of the individual proprietors, and not laid out according to a previous general plan. Many of the houses are built with bricks baked in England; for in the infancy of the colony, even the bricks were imported from the mother country.

The house of the governor was raised by the last English governor of the province, in the style of an elegant English country house of modest dimensions. As the property of a Tory, it was confiscated during the revolution, and remained the property of the State. It might be a very pleasant abode; the garden, though not large, commands an extensive view of the Bay, and the adjacent country; but, as the chief magistrates of the State are elected for three years, and, according to the last constitution, only for two, whilst their re-election is prohibited, and the official income is very trifling, none of them cares much to adorn the dwelling for his successor. The grounds are neglected, and the house itself shows, by its condition and its furniture, that it is but a temporary abode. Governor Lowe, the youngest governor in the United States, is a handsome man; in the prime of his manhood at the head of the State. His wife is distinguished by loveliness. They, with their healthy children, an aged mother, proud of her son, and the sisters of Mrs. Lowe, ladies of uncommon beauty, presented a most agreeable picture of happy family life. The old lady interested herself especially in our fortune; with tears in her eyes she greeted us, and told us to be of good cheer; her own lot may comfort us; she had known herself the trial of exile. In her childhood, she had crossed the ocean with her parents, driven from France by the first revolution, without means and connections, and now she was the mother of a family, prosperous in every respect.

The brother-in-law of the governor began to speak to

me about slavery in Maryland, and said that the blacks were extremely well kept on the farms. In the evening and on Sundays they call on one another, and often assemble in a friendly way; and delighting in music and dance, they are in general merry and happy. Governor Lowe remarked, that he remembered how general the desire was to free the slaves in the State twenty years ago, and the means for gradual emancipation were publicly discussed; they then were taught to read and to write, but the violence of the Abolitionists had provoked strong reaction in that respect. At present, Maryland is more jealous of the peculiar institution, than, perhaps, even Louisiana, because, as it borders on a free State, the opportunities of encounters with the Abolitionists are incessant.—Liberality towards conflicting opinions was always a leading feature in the history of Maryland; the Roman Catholics, who had settled the country, had given up the intolerance inherent to their creed. Religious liberty was practised here more efficiently than in New England, where the Quakers suffered persecution. The influential Carrolls were always opposed to ultramontanism, and the Roman Catholic priests of Maryland remained Americans in heart and interest. Since the continuous arrival of Roman Catholic Irish, a school of zealot priests, trained in Italy, has been sent over to the States, and Archbishop Hughes, of New York, is of the same cast as Cardinal Wiseman. The Jesuits, supported by Austrian money, placed themselves in the West, and endeavour to spread the ultramontane principles all over the Union, but until now they have not succeeded in Maryland. Protestants and Catholics live in excellent harmony, and frequent intermarriages take place.

In the evening we had a numerous dinner-party, attended by the Secretary and the officials of the State, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, and seve-

ral gentlemen of the neighbourhood. One of these, who sat next to me, inhabited a large farm, and he spoke of his residence as most delightful. I understood that he lived there alone with his family amongst five hundred slaves, whom he is said to treat with the affection of a father, and to rule in a most patriarchal way. Yet I must own I felt here, as in Baltimore, very queer at being served by slaves; so much so, that, whenever one of them stumbled, or spilled some wine or sauce,—accidents which happened very frequently,—I was always tempted to make an apology for them. I felt as if every free person was responsible for the awkwardness of those doomed to be under absolute rule; especially as the free coloured waiters of New York and Philadelphia had struck me as being much more clever and ready in all their movements. True that the Æthiopian waiters in Turkey are said to be unparalleled by any European valet in precision, agility, and grace, and they too are slaves; but, besides that this race seems of a more noble cast than that of the negroes of the Congo and Eboe coast, which have been imported into America, the patriarchal customs of the East are unquestionably more favourable to the development of the black race than the ever-busy habits of the Americans.

When the cloth was removed, several toasts were given and responded to; we therefore remained rather long at table. I have forgotten to mention, in regard to New York, that the ladies in America generally do not retire before the gentlemen. But soon we heard noise in the adjoining apartment. A great levee had been announced for seven o'clock; people rushed into the house, and pressed so strenuously against the doors of the dining-room, that Governor Lowe, who was just delivering a most spirited address to Kossuth, could hardly be heard. A very polite, stout black valet, who stood at one of the doors, through which the public attempted to force its

way, exerted all the influence of his rolling eyes and his entreating gesture to quiet the impatience, yet in vain. I admired the perfect equanimity with which the lady of the house bore all this disturbance; she hardly seemed to notice it. One of her relatives observed to me, that in this country there was, on such occasions, no privacy for a gentleman occupying an official position; his house was expected to be thrown open to everybody whenever the public pleased, and he himself had to appear amongst the people whenever they claimed it. As an example, she mentioned that Mr. Corwin, the Secretary of the Treasury, was roused in midwinter, late at night, by the calls of a crowd assembled before his abode, and obliged to dress hastily, to come down, and to make a speech for the satisfaction of his importunate admirers.

When I came to my room, I found a little black girl, about nine years old, putting wood in my iron stove. She was dressed in cotton, but very cleanly, and looked quite smart. I asked her if she had been long in the family? No, only a year; her mother had another master, but not far from here, and she came occasionally to see her. She slept in the room with the children of the master (she meant the Governor), and the young ladies tried to teach her to read, but that was very hard; she rather ran about the house, and carried wood, and played with the young masters.

Lieutenant Phillips, of the Mississippi, who had shown great attention to Kossuth and his family during their passage from Gemlick to Gibraltar, had since been appointed professor at the navy school in Annapolis. He invited us to see this establishment, of which the Americans are as proud as of their military academy of West Point. The young pupils received us with the gravity and politeness of grown up people; they seemed to feel their dignity, as future officers of the United States navy.

A beginning of a museum is attached to the school. Stuffed birds, shells, a geological collection, models of ships, some few Egyptian, Roman, and Greek antiquities, some medals and curiosities from the South Sea, fill a large room, whose principal decorations are some relics of the naval heroes of America. Paul Jones, Commodore Decatur, and Perry, whose black flag, with the celebrated inscription, "Don't surrender,"—which he hoisted when he attacked and destroyed the superior forces of Barclay, on Lake Erie,—inspired the young midshipmen with the martial spirit which has so often led the American navy to glory.

At noon a deputation of the legislature of Maryland came to escort Kossuth to the house. It is one of the old colonial buildings, connected with important recollections of the War of Independence. The Continental Congress held here its sessions during the latter part of the war. This assembly of the thirteen independent colonies, federated only by the common danger and common resistance, had to struggle not only against the English, but also against the selfishness of those colonies which, being more remote from the seat of war, were often remiss in sending supplies, and liked to shift the burden of taxes on the shoulders of those more immediately threatened by the enemy. But the English, instead of cajoling the provinces in turn, so as to ruin and chastise them separately, one after the other, attacked first the North, then the South, and thus united them more firmly than the eloquence of Massachusetts and Virginia ever could have done.—The greatest event in American history took place in these halls. General Washington was, by his victories and the attachment of the army, the most powerful man in America at the time when the Continental Congress had become unpopular. The usurpation of supreme power was suggested by some officers of the army. The usurper

would have been hailed with enthusiasm by those who so dread anarchy, that, in order to escape the annoyance of an unsettled state, they give up the liberty of the people and the morality of the government. But the greatness of Washington was in his moral depth: he knew that a reign established on perjury, and on the overthrow of legal assemblies, cannot benefit the people, nor secure social order, because they destroy the basis of order and society—*faith and morality*. As soon as peace was concluded, Washington came to Annapolis (1783), and gave up the victorious sword of command into the hands of the only legal, though already sinking, assembly. The results are known. The unsettled state of things lasted about six years longer; but, in 1789, the constitution was established, and it rules now over a people of more than twenty millions of free men. Had Washington been a Napoleon or a Louis Bonaparte, history would have lacked a bright page, and mankind a new phase of its evolution. Instead of the great prosperous self-governing republic, we should have seen a succession of anarchy and usurpation,—the energies of the country wasted in civil wars, and military chieftains swaying the Continent. It was in the hall where this memorable event took place, that Kossuth responded to the address of the senate, and alluded to those heroic signers of Independence, the Marylanders—Stone, Paca, Carroll, Chase—whose portraits adorned the walls, and to Washington's patriotism, crowned by his resignation. A venerable old lady, the daughter of Samuel Chase, standing at my side, observed, that in her youth she was witness to that grand act, and by a remarkable coincidence, Kossuth was pleading the cause of his country on the same spot, before the President of the Senate, on which Washington stood, when he gave the great example of moral patriotism.

The portrait of Lord Chatham in the Senate, and of Lafayette at the House of Representatives, are a handsome

tribute of Americans to those foreigners who defended the cause of the States in council and on the battle-field. The remark of Kossuth in his speech at the house, as he pointed to the likeness of the illustrious French liberal,—that Europe struggling for freedom is not more remote from America than struggling America had been from Europe, made a deep impression on the Assembly. They were slaveholders, and therefore did not much like the mission of Kossuth; they looked on his appeals with some distrust, but when they had heard him, many of them burst into tears.

## II. HARRISBURGH.

In the valley of the Susquehanna river, the locomotive carried us to Harrisburgh. Though winter had deprived the country of its principal charm, I was agreeably surprised by the surrounding scenery. The parts of the country which I had seen before were flat and often of a poor soil; the valley of the Susquehanna is picturesque, fertile, and well cultivated. The settlers here are principally Germans, thriving and wealthy: their wealth is mainly exhibited in their horses, which they feed so excessively that they cannot perform hard work.

This German colony emigrated long before the revolutionary war of America, and before the golden age of German literature had roused the intellectual activity of the people. They did not amalgamate with the English; they do not like to send their children to school, "*that they may not grow English apes*," as they say; they have maintained their broad vulgar dialect; they do not know the names of Lessing and Herder, Schiller and Goethe; they are strangers to the development of the English and the German spirit; peasants of the past age, who have become free and

rich in their new country, but have been left untouched by the progress of a century. Berks and Lancaster county are their original seats, from whence they have spread over a great portion of Pennsylvania, underliving the Anglo-Saxon race. Those of them who did appreciate the advantages of a liberal education have become English in their language and in their turn of mind.

Mr. Mühlenberg, the accomplished member of the Pennsylvanian Senate, one of the States committee which escorted us to Harrisburgh, was a remarkable specimen of those Germans. Conversant with all the treasures of English literature, he spoke no German but the peasant brogue, though he belongs to the leading family of those settlers. His great-grandfather was the clergyman of the colony; his grandfather one of Washington's generals; his father the chargé d'affaires in Vienna. One of his ancestral relatives was Speaker of the house in Pennsylvania, when the question of the official language in the States legislature was discussed. The house was equally divided between the advocates of the promiscuous use of the German and English, and those who maintained an exclusively English legislature. The casting vote of the German speaker was given in favour of English. He felt the importance of consolidating American nationality by the unity of language.

An accident delayed our progress; an axle of one of the carriages broke, and the train ran off the line. The engine-driver immediately stopped the locomotive, and the workmen from a neighbouring marble quarry easily extricated the train from its position. As the average speed on American railways is less than in England, and fewer trains are going, accidents are not so dangerous here, except on the great line between New-York and Albany, which competes with the Hudson steamers, and runs at a speed of forty miles an hour. The railways are not so costly as

in Europe; they are frequently carried through the wilderness, and settlements follow the line. The carriages are everywhere much more comfortable than in England. They are not divided into compartments, but provided with stuffed chairs, leaving a central passage from end to end. They resemble large saloons. Republican equality does not bear second and third class carriages. On the luggage-waggon a small apartment is left for smokers, and as the passage from one carriage to the other through the front and back doors is always open, the communication is easy for those who wish to call on a friend seated in one of the other carriages. Washing-rooms and small saloons for those who chance to feel unwell, complete the conveniences of the arrangement. Emigrants, if they choose, are conveyed on separate cheap trains, less elegant and comfortable than the common conveyances.

In the afternoon we arrived at Harrisburgh, to which the State Legislature had invited Kossuth. It is a small city, as the capitals of the States usually are, but its site on the Susquehanna is delightful; two splendid bridges span the broad river, alleys ornament its banks, canals and railroads radiate from this point; the State capitol and several other public buildings adorn it, and the high chimneys bear evidence of the manufacturing interest. We saw all these sights of Harrisburgh immediately after our arrival. Sledges awaited us at the railway terminus, and with the legislative committee we were carried on in festive procession through all the streets, preceded by the firemen's companies with their tinkling engines. The organisation of the firemen in all the cities of the United States is very remarkable. As most of the houses are of wood, and the numerous assurance offices make good the losses, and the people are generally very careless about danger, conflagrations are frequent. Volunteer firemen companies were therefore formed in every ward, as a kind of supplementary

militia. Strong emulation and military discipline reigns amongst them, and their engine is as much their pet as the horse is to the hussar. It is always bright and clean, kept in best order; and every new improvement is immediately adopted by the companies. Each of them is anxious to have the best engine, and to arrive first at the scene of danger. They like the excitement of a fire as the soldier that of the battle. On festive occasions they turn out in their handsome regimentals, with the brass helmet on the head, carrying their engines, adorned with flowers and ribbons, and tolling loudly the bells appended to them.

The reception of Kossuth at the capitol, by the Senate and House, presented a new feature. The sovereign people disliked the exclusiveness of their legislators, who had reserved all the free space in the hall for their male and female friends. The masses, assembled by the procession, forced the doors and thronged riotously into the Senate-chamber, that they too might have the pleasure of hearing Kossuth; the State-house is the common property of the citizens, they said, not of the friends of the senators and representatives only. The noise was great, but the masses enforced their will by pressure from without. Close to me, a little urchin, scarcely twelve years old, who had crept in, asked one of the senators, "how long does Kossuth remain in Harrisburgh?" "I don't know," answered the senator. "Why then," said the boy angrily, "have we elected you as a senator, if you don't know the things which interest us above all?"

I heartily laughed, when I saw that even children deem themselves part of the sovereign people.

Governor Johnson of Pennsylvania, had been defeated in the electoral contest a short time before our visit. His re-election failed by some hundred votes, and, in a few days, the governor elect, Mr. Bigler, was to be inaugurated. The contest had been very violent. Governor Johnson, a

Whig, was known as strongly opposed to the fugitive slave law, and he had to contend not only with the active opposition of the Democrats, but also with the apathy of the Fillmore Whigs (the Silvergreys), who withheld their support all over the union, from those who did not surrender their anti-slavery feeling, to the alleged necessity of consolidating the union by concessions to the South. "Secession" had really become as great a bugbear in America, as Demagogy was in Germany in 1819, and Red Republicanism in Europe in 1849.

The party of order, the bankers, office holders, rich men, and all the nervous portion of the community, were easily persuaded that an abyss was open similar to that of Curtius, in the Forum in Rome. And as they were not required, like him, to throw the virtue and valour of the country into it, but only a few wretched "runaway niggers," they did not hesitate; and they pushed after them into the chasm, all those government and state officers, who thought, that the real danger for the union lies in the repudiation of those principles, on which the independence of the country was established. Whilst Kossuth had to receive deputations pouring to Harrisburgh, from all parts of the State, with contributions of money and arms for the cause of Hungary, I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the leading men of Pennsylvania of every political creed. I found here likewise, an advocate of "Nativism," who deemed it most outrageous that the refuse of Europe was in America not only to share all the benefits of liberty, conquered by blood, and innumerable sacrifices, but also to exercise political power, after a short apprenticeship of five years. The leading journals of England, said he, and all their statesmen, with the exception of a few dreamers, declare openly, that the populations of the continent, the great bulk of the Irish, and the lower classes in England, which are excluded from representa-

tion in parliament, are utterly unfit for liberty. The struggle of centuries could not elevate their character; yet, all the paupers of those populations, flock now to our shores, rude, illiterate, bigoted, not trained either by schools or free institutions. Those are the men who import into our sea-ports all the miseries of Europe; and yet in a few years hence, they are to have the balance of power in this country in their hands. We do not object to their enjoying all the blessings of free institutions, but we should be cautious to reserve political power to those who have been educated in our schools. Can the inmates of English poor-houses, the evicted tenants of Ireland, the uneducated peasants of Germany—ever become anything else than tools in the hands of Demagogues, selling their votes to either party, according to time and convenience.

I found it quite natural, that educated men in the sea-coast States, whose whole energies were spent in elevating their countrymen, were aggrieved to see the moral and intellectual condition of the emigration, which fills the hospitals and prisons of New York and Philadelphia, and brings its misery, its filthy habits into the lodging-houses and cellars of Boston. But they forget that it is precisely this population, which fells the forests in the West, and breaks up the prairie. Without their head work, Illinois and Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota would be a wilderness. The graduates of the colleges can yet never be pioneers, and the refined gentlemen of the seaport cities will scarcely consent to live in the backwoods. The overwhelming force of circumstances put to scorn the imagined wisdom of the "*Natives.*"

A gentleman who had taken part in the war with Mexico gave me some interesting data about the way in which it was carried on. To make "political capital" was the leading idea of the federal government and of the indi-

vidual generals. It was the first aggressive war of the United States, and as the future aggrandisement of the Union is never lost sight of by the leading statesmen, it was of importance that the populations of the countries traversed by the army, should not become exasperated by the miseries which, in Europe, accompany war. The army was to be a living evidence of the result created by the rule of the United States. The war was not to be a burden, but a benefit, to the Mexican provinces in which it was carried on. Strict orders were therefore given never to take away by force the provisions necessary to the army: they were bought at the market prices, and for the greater part sent from the United States. Any destruction of public monuments, of private property, or plunder of stormed cities, was punished as an infringement of discipline. The expenditure of the commissariat was, therefore, immense; but no hatred was aroused in Mexico against the invading Americans by the war. The Mexicans suffered more from their own army than from the enemy.

Whatever may have been the motive of this policy, it has been a step in the right direction; a humane improvement of the laws of war; a campaign carried on against the army, but not against the peaceful population of the country. It is in striking contrast with the murder, plunder, and destruction of property perpetrated by the saviours of order and society in Europe. As to the citizen-generals, who had exchanged their plough and their pen for the sword and the musket, nearly every one of them enlisted a good reporter to his staff, that the deeds of every division should be duly recorded, and should not be forgotten like the heroes before Agamemnon. A portable printing-press was carried with the army, and a regular newspaper edited in the head-quarters. Only one of the

expeditions—that which entered the province of Chihuahua—did not provide itself with a chronicler; and its deeds are scarcely known.

I visited the cotton-mill, which was fitted up in the last year. It occupies more space than the mills in England, and people are less crowded at the spindles and looms. I heard here complaints against the present tariff, the free-trade tariff as it is called, and its import duties of only twenty per cent. ad valorem. The cotton manufacturers deem this insufficient, as they have to pay higher wages than in England. Yet I found that the produce of their looms is not destined for home consumption, but for the markets of Turkey and Asia Minor, where the Americans, with their coarser article, undersell the English. The production of the American mills is always increasing, in spite of their complaints against their own tariff. In 1841, the manufacturers of the United States consumed about 450,000 bales of home-grown cotton; in 1852, the consumption reached 700,000 bales. Mrs. Pulszky visited the lunatic asylum, in which the system of kind treatment has been adopted with great success. It is a pleasant building, more palace than prison-like, commanding a beautiful view, surrounded by extensive grounds, where the patients enjoy the air, and may work for their pleasure. She visited all departments, not excepting those of the most violent madmen, but kind treatment had even there the most beneficial result, and no modes of physical constraint were ever put in practice. Every one of them has his separate bedroom, but in the day-time they enjoy one another's society, from which only those are temporarily excluded, who become violent.

Miss Dix is the great reformer of the lunatic asylums in the United States. She was accustomed to visit the prisons on Sunday, to afford comfort to the culprits. Her attention was soon attracted by the lunatics, who often were

kept in the county jails, as if they were felons. In several States there were no lunatic asylums, in others they were insufficient. She therefore made it the task of her life to inquire into the condition of the insane, and found that, in most asylums and private houses they were often kept in even a worse condition than in jail. Once she found a man in a cellar, where he had been locked up for years, and had become entirely savage. He had entirely left off speaking, for no one dared enter his filthy cell, on account of his violence, and his food was administered to him through the window. But Miss Dix knew, from her experience at the prisons, the power of kind words, even on souls hardened by crime. She addressed the unhappy man kindly, and he burst into tears. He could be removed without danger, and his violence ceased when he was treated humanely. "It was," the poor man said, "as if the angels had spoken to him when he heard Miss Dix." The philanthropic endeavours of this eminent lady to ameliorate the condition of the insane have been encouraged by the different States. She has succeeded in getting lunatic asylums established by the States themselves, and now sees the good results of her indefatigable labours. She spends all her time in visiting the different establishments for the insane, where she has already been successful, and in calling the attention of those States which have not yet built asylums, to the numbers and the condition of the unfortunate patients yet unprovided for. Her private means are very limited, but public merit and philanthropy are appreciated in a different way in America than in Europe. No railway company, no captain of a steamboat, accepts the fare from Miss Dix. Every one feels the obligation of society to assist her in her arduous and noble mission.

At the legislative banquet for Kossuth, Governor Johnston made a most excellent speech for the cause of European liberty. He knew that whatever may be the differ-

ence of opinion in his State in other respects, in this point there was unanimity. I was struck by seeing, that after the hot contest for the election of the governor, which had so closely preceded our arrival, there was no longer any vestige of party excitement. The elections follow in this country at so short intervals that the defeated party never loses the hope to get soon into power, and therefore it easily acquiesces in the dictates of the majority.

## III. JOURNEY ACROSS THE ALLEGHANIES.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

*Jan. 17th.*—Governor Johnston, who during our stay at Harrisburgh had been most hospitable to us, came in the morning to take leave. We were already in our travelling costumes, well provided against the cold, when he requested us to have our daguerreotypes taken for him. Our excuse that it would be too late did not avail, the artist had come with him, and our portraits were taken with bonnets and muffs and furs. Daguerreotypes are the favourite keep-sakes in America, the substitutes for works of art.

In the meantime many ladies and gentlemen had assembled in the parlour, and asked me about the real nature of the struggle and the constitution of Hungary. I found this desire rather strange in the very moment of our departure, but it was only the introduction to another wish, to have my autograph. Several of the ladies had their albums in hand, and I readily complied with their request, but scarcely had they obtained it, when a lady exclaimed, "But now I must have Madame Kossuth's too," and all the others unanimously seconded her. But Madame Kossuth being yet busy with her arrangements for the journey, could not come down, and it was suggested by one of the ladies that I might act as Madame Kossuth's deputy; I

gladly consented, silently wondering that they were satisfied with such substituted autographs.

The railway is carried through the valleys of the Susquehanna and of the Juniatta, bordered on both sides by mountain ranges of varied, though not bold outlines. The gentlemen of the legislative committee who accompanied us, said, that in autumn these heights, covered by maple trees, chestnuts, and dark pines, with laurels and other evergreens, are unsurpassed in beauty. We met the down train from Pittsburg. Mr. Bigler, the governor elect, was just in his journey to Harrisburgh, for his inauguration. When he saw the cars decorated with Hungarian colours, he had the engine stopped. Our train did the same; calls and speeches were soon exchanged in both the trains, and in a few minutes we started in opposite directions. When it was growing dark, we reached Louistown, a place of about 900 inhabitants, who had turned out with a drummer in their rear, and yelled furiously to welcome Kossuth. I was struck by the skill with which the crowd imitated the whistle of the locomotive, but they informed me that all over the West this was usual instead of the English hurrah.

About ten we arrived at the Mountain House, a large hotel, near Holidaysburg, at the foot of the Alleghanies. The curiosity of the people was here so great, that when Kossuth retired for a moment's rest into his private apartment, they forced the doors, broke the locks, and crowded into the bedroom. He had to proceed to the dining-hall, and to address them.

*Jan.* 23*d.*—Whilst we rested on Sunday at the Mountain House, the snow had accumulated so rapidly on the inclined planes of the Alleghany railway, which are worked by stationary machines, that the communication was stopped. On Monday the severest cold I ever remember,

set in. It was impossible to clear away the hard frozen masses; no choice remained but to proceed on sledges over the wild ridges of the Alleghanies.

We were very uncomfortable in the Mountain House, a large building of very frail materials, ill-ventilated, badly heated, and as little clean as an Italian "osteria." The first night I was half frozen; I therefore requested the landlord to appoint somebody to attend to the iron stove of our room, as the idiotic Irish boy, who was entrusted with the care of the fires, seemed to be unfit for his office. One of the black waiters soon appeared, and explained, with much self-complacency, that "he belonged to the dining-room, and was to serve us only, because the stupid *Dutch* was too mean to do it. That set of *Irish* people in this country is a very bad set"—said he—"they don't do anything properly. Missis! look to that iron,"—he pointed to the stove,—"it is broken. That is too bad, now I must attend to it, and this is not my business."

I was greatly amused by his estimate of the Dutch and Irish, whom he obviously thought one and the same people.

When I paid a visit at Holidaysburg, the lady of the house handed me a towel in the drawing-room, that I might wipe off the snow from my shoes. I saw that I had reached the West, where every one has unceremoniously to attend on himself. I found the atmosphere in the houses also here very close; the Americans in general shun ventilation as much as the English seek it; but of titles they are equally fond. They persisted in calling my husband a count, and, when he protested against this title, they openly said, that it sounds better. This reminded me of an instance in England, in which Mr. Pulszky, tired of being always called count in spite of his protestations, explained to a gentleman of the legal profession, the nature and degrees of Hungarian nobility,

and concluded by saying, that he himself belonged to the *untitled* nobility, and therefore was neither a peer nor a count. The lawyer replied, "Well, count! I understand it now."

I wished to see a farm in the neighbourhood, but General * * * and Doctor * * * were the only ones who consented to accompany me in the bitter cold.

We drove on a sledge to "Blayr's Gap," and alighted at the door of a farm. The farmer offered us bread and butter, and when I enquired how they managed, I found that the family consisted of the farmer himself, an elderly peasant-like man, his young second wife, two daughters, and a little boy; no female servant, and but one male "help," to attend to eight cows and their calves, four horses, and several pigs.

The farm is of 270 acres, two-thirds of it wood and meadow; the farmer has an orchard, a barn, a stable, and a pig-sty. The house is ancient and spacious, but fire is only kindled in one large German stove, which serves likewise as hearth.

The doctor who had come along with me, told me how fond he was of country solitude, and retired family life, and wound up his idyllic outpourings by stating, that he was just about to erect a gigantic elegant health-establishment, a "*Sanitarium*," at the top of the mountain in the neighbourhood, which, as the country was very attractive, would probably become a fashionable resort for convalescents.

Whilst we were detained at the Mountain House, Kossuth was overwhelmed with incessant calls of people, who said that they came only just to gaze on him. "What is there particular to be seen about me?" said Kossuth. "Well!" replied a woman, the wife of a farmer, "we like to see a good patriot."

On our way over the mountains, we suffered much from

the intense cold in the open sledge. We had to put hot bricks under our feet, and to cover ourselves with buffalo robes. The country through which we drove is inhabited nearly exclusively by Irish. The small towns of Blairsville, Ebensburg, Armagh, and Salem are filled with them; and on the slopes of the Alleghanies, I saw that land is constantly being taken up, the trees girdled, felled, and the country cleared, though the soil is very poor. I was astonished to see that people stop here among the mountains, who could find farther west a rich soil, which better remunerates their toils. But I was informed that the first settlements were founded by Irishmen only,—that this happened to be the first country they met where land was cheap on their way westwards, and that the gregarious habits of the Celtic race soon peopled the country.—Americans rarely remain here; they clear the wood, patch up a loghouse, and sell it to those emigrants who do not like the hard work of the pioneer. In one of the loghouses, which our gentlemen visited to warm bricks for our feet, they found, to their great astonishment, three different newspapers, one of New York, one of Pittsburg, and a religious one; and yet the house was of the poorest description, with one single room, and the furniture consisted of three wooden seats, a bench, a table, and a bed. In every little town a yelling Irish crowd, with pipers and drummers, greeted us, and boisterously claimed a speech, protesting their sympathy for Hungary. But when in Salem a gentleman of our party requested them to lend him a buffalo robe, which he would send back from the next station by the driver, the sympathy had evaporated; he could not get it. Of course this is not a type of American behaviour to the cause of Hungary. At the door of some very poor looking loghouses, we saw young ladies dressed very elegantly, and when I expressed my surprise that people who could afford such expenditure on their dress, do not first

improve their dwellings, which seemed quite uninhabitable to us, a gentleman told us that "Americans do not like to be comfortable." Restless activity draws the pioneer farther and farther; he sells his farm as soon as he has conquered the forest, and puts up his loghouse always farther west, until he has become a wealthy proprietor.

We reached Pittsburg on the 22d, during the night, worn out by the fatigues of the winter journey across the mountain range. We happily escaped the hubbub of a great reception and procession which awaited us not far from the city; for a gentleman of the Pittsburg committee, in compassion to our fatigues, and dreading the consequences to our health, gave out that it was not Kossuth and his party who came along in the sledges. Nevertheless, before we had reached the city, it oozed out in which carriage Kossuth was; and the horsemen and firemen—engines, with their tolling bells, caught us in the very moment of our alighting at the back-door of the hotel.

## IV. PITTSBURG, THE IRON CITY.

Pittsburg, the great manufacturing and commercial city of the West, has an unparalleled site at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, which, after their confluence, get the name of Ohio. The water-power of the two rivers, the inexhaustible supply of the best anthracite coals, and of iron ore in the neighbourhood, and the position of the city, at the head of the steam navigation of the West, have been turned to good account by the energies of the Americans. Iron and glass manufactures flourish here; saw-mills and steam flour-mills, breweries and distilleries draw our attention at every step. Steam-engines and steamers are built here, and convey the coals, the iron wares, the glass, and the well-known "Monongahela

whisky," to the Mississippi and all its tributaries. It was from Pittsburgh that the great inland trade of the West was carried on, long before Fulton and the paddle-wheel, and when he had succeeded with his experiment on the Hudson, Pittsburg enterprise immediately availed itself of the invention, and already in 1811, the first steamboat which went down to New-Orleans, was launched here. The city is visibly growing. It has reached the adjoining manufacturing towns of Alleghany, Birmingham, Sligo, Manchester and Laurenceville, and forms a great centre for the manufacturing and commercial interests in the West. A hundred years back it was called Duquesne, a small French fort and trading post. In 1763 it had already the name of Fort Pitt, in honour of Lord Chatham, and was important principally as a military point. But since the War of Independence, commerce has expanded it at a rate utterly unknown on the continent of Europe, and equalled only by the growth of the manufacturing cities in England.

Pittsburg is, of course, a Whig city, and complaints against the present "Free Trade Tariff" (of twenty per cent. import duty ad valorem) are very frequent. It has killed off all the smaller establishments. Hundreds of foundries had to extinguish their fires in Western Pennsylvania. But the large manufactories, supplied with sufficient capital, have not only survived the withdrawal of the high protection, but have extended their traffic in spite of English competition. Even a manufactory, established by an association of working men belonging to the glass trade, and conducted on the co-operative principle, thrives here remarkably well.

The "Western university" of Pennsylvania, and the Western penitentiary, bear evidence that the state of Pennsylvania takes the same care to prevent crime by education, as to check it by punishment. The United States

Arsenal, in the neighbourhood of the city, adds to the importance of the place. Mrs. Pulszky visited the beneficent institutions of the city,—the different ward schools, and hospitals; and found here one of them under the care of "Deaconesses." The great services rendered by the Roman Catholic order of the sisters of charity (sœurs grises) to the cause of suffering humanity, by the care of the sick, struck the mind of several Protestants in Germany, and they established a similar association, but on Protestant principles, without any vows or monastic rule. In Germany, they are rapidly spreading, especially in Prussia, and the Rev. Mr. Passavant, the German clergyman of Pittsburg, had invited several of them across the Atlantic. An infirmary is now here under their care, which has been established by the worthy clergyman, who set at work to this undertaking, with only twenty-two cents (10*d.*), and already in the third year was able to receive thirty-five patients, who are now admirably attended on by eight deaconesses. Mrs. Pulszky was struck by the neatness, and even elegance of the whole establishment, though only one man-servant assists them in their arduous task. They nurse the sick, they cook for them, and keep the house in order. Experience has shown that to devote oneself to the attention of the sufferings of men, requires neither vows nor monastical discipline.

The great drawback of Pittsburg is the smoke, which is worse even than in Manchester. The anthracite coal burns with as light a flame as a wax candle; it leaves no residuum in the grate; but its ashes fill the rooms and the streets. Clean hands and clean faces are almost unknown here; the soap is beaten by the coal. The manners of the gentlemen and the appearance of the houses remind one strongly of the West. Instead of the Eastern politeness, we find here an energy and cordiality, mingled sometimes with some roughness which are unknown in Europe.

For the cause of Hungary, they were enthusiastic, and especially the ladies exerted themselves most nobly, to give practical proof of their sympathy. Nor only under the excitement of Kossuth's speeches; but they formed, and kept up a lasting association for the aid of Hungary. Even, they, however, were surpassed in generosity by the workmen of the Pittsburg alkali works, who without exception handed to Kossuth a whole week's wages, as their contribution for struggling liberty in Europe.

## V. VISIT TO ECONOMY.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

ECONOMY, the successful experiment of a communistical society, had interested me long before our visit to the United States. As it is only a few miles' distance from Pittsburg, I wished to see it.

Rapp, the precursor of the French and English Socialists, and of Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet, had in his character several features common with them all. He pretended to be a seer, an instrument raised up by Providence, like Joe Smith; and he stuck to his own schemes of political economy,—to the theory of the community of property and repudiation of commerce,—as steadfastly as Babœuf or Cabet.

In *one* respect he succeeded: his community grew wealthy, and independent of the world without. They raise, grow, and manufacture every thing which they require for their food, clothing, and enjoyment. But, in another regard, the experiment has failed. Religious fanaticism was the only means of keeping them together, and of excluding foreign elements from the community which might have disturbed it. This was the case so *much the more*, as the natural increase of the value of

their land, about 5000 acres, in the very neighbourhood of Pittsburg, has increased this capital to a stupendous amount. The property was to remain among the original settlers; marriage was therefore abolished. The establishment became a kind of monastery, and as the accession by adoption was restricted, ECONOMY assumes the character of a *Tontine*, to the benefit of the last survivors. During our stay in Pittsburg I inquired, from those who could give me information, of the origin and the fortunes of this singular community.

John George Rapp, born in 1757, was a weaver and farmer in Würtemberg, and came to the persuasion that the Church, in her present form, is nothing more than a police establishment, "which does not lead mankind to Christianity, but out of Christianity." He therefore refused to pay tithes to the clergy, and preached that people should return to the tenets of primitive Christianity, and, in particular, to the community of property. He soon was surrounded by disciples, principally farmers and mechanics. Worried by the persecution of the police and the law, he emigrated, with his community, in 1 40, to the United States. They first bought 3000 acres in Butler County, but, as they soon found themselves implicated in serious difficulties, being unable to meet their engagements, the women had to give up even their rings and earrings, and everything costly they possessed, which had not yet entered the common stock. Nevertheless, they at length sold the first establishment with profit, and thereupon settled in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg.

When their wealth increased, Rapp introduced a new feature into the community. "Asses!" said his prophetic voice to the faithful flock, "do you mean to be wiser than our Saviour? HE was unmarried!" And such was *Rapp's* authority, gained principally by the auricular confession, which he strictly enforced, that they submitted

to this decree. He then divided them into groups of five to seven persons, so that every one of those should form one artificial family, where the defects of one member were to be remedied by the qualities of the other. Their fare and clothing were the same for all, and of the coarsest description.

Rapp (as the reader will anticipate) had visions and dreams. He predicted the near approach of doomsday, and therefore compelled his disciples to give up selfishness, property, and family. In 1847 he died, being ninety years old; a strange compound of a religious enthusiast and a cunning impostor. At the time of his death, the community possessed 5000 acres, with cattle, machinery for agriculture, wool and silk manufactories, and was worth two millions of dollars. His successor as prophet, was Doctor Henrizi, a scholar, who preached in the style of Rapp, and seemed most anxious that the Spartan fare should not be improved. But Bäker, another member of the community, went with the other eleven elders into the kitchen,—where the new prophet was just then enquiring into the contents of the saucepans,—and caught the sacred sleeve, exclaiming, "But now it is enough! we want better fare and less work." The community approved of this "coup d'état," and Bäker and Henrizi had to exchange positions.

Thus, the revolution of ECONOMY was consummated, and the twelve elders, who in the lifetime of Rapp, never dared even to discuss his decrees, became thenceforth a "Consultative Body," though it is said, nothing but the form of proceedings has changed, for Bäker is so clever, that he always carries his point. And as he retains the hoarding propensities of the German peasant, there is no danger that the community should turn epicurean. Our visit was *previously* announced to the prophet. When *our carriage* arrived at the foot of the hill, where ECONO-

MY stands, we were met by Bäker and Henrizi. Bäker's features are those of a shrewd, thrifty peasant, half Jew, half German. Henrizi has the expression of a Puseyite clergyman. Their hair is long and curly, such as Rabbis used to wear. They had broad-brimmed hats, silk waistcoats, and wide and long coats of fine cloth.

They accompanied us to the village, composed of about a hundred clean and neat houses. Several women of the community, in the Suabian peasant garb, greeted us here, and told us how happily and peacefully they lived. Remembering that my poor friend, the celebrated German poet, *Lenau*,* had paid a long visit to ECONOMY, with the intention of himself making a practical experiment of communism, I asked Henrizi, what he thought of him? "He was no *material* for us," said he.

When I spoke about the communistic principle, they said: they believed that Christ is coming soon, and therefore it is better to prepare for the future world than to care for individual property, family, and the external world. I remarked to them that if they do not marry, and the day of judgment is yet delayed, their society might be centralised at last, and absorbed by one, perhaps very worldly individual, inheriting the fruit of all their toils. But Henrizi met my objection, saying, that as their motives were sacred, Providence would take care of the results. They offered us wine and cake; we visited their wool, cotton, and silk manufactory. The weavers were poorly clad, and looked dismal. I asked, therefore, how it came to pass that the elders, in spite of equality, were better dressed than the workmen? Bäker answered, that it was only to do us honour, that they had put on their holiday dress; but on Sunday they were all alike.

The dinner was a substantial German peasant's fare. I enquired whether they cultivate music and song in the

* Some years ago he became insane and died.

German way? They said, music was their enjoyment, though I heard nothing but the nasal twang of the Suabian rural communities, not German melody.

We visited Rapp's house, it is like the others, one story high, clean, and nice. The adopted grand-daughter of Rapp, and her mother were clad like all the other women, and looked as some of the old pictures of Van Eyk or Hemling.

They told us, they had also a school and a library, but they did not show it. I asked why they kept a school, when they had abolished marriage? They said, that some children are adopted, and others chance to be found.

The community consists of about six or seven hundred members; the majority of them is above fifty years old.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## OHIO.

### I. TRIP TO CLEVELAND.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

*Feb. 4th.*—Before we set out for the West, we were told that it was the region where Kossuth's principles had struck the deepest roots.

When we now reached the boundaries of the State of Ohio, we saw that this assertion was true. At every railway station we found thousands assembled, eager to see the apostle of liberty. Deputations were waiting with "material aid" for Hungary, and presented resolutions passed by Town Councils and popular meetings approving the principles he preached. In one place where we stopped for only a few minutes, people, in good earnest, requested Kossuth to climb up on the top of the railway cars, that they might see him better. At Alliance, several deputations were awaiting us. One of them, composed of representatives of a full score of counties, and therefore styled the deputation of the people of Ohio, was eager to have the precedency of the other committees, which were assembled at the terminus; and they succeeded in a most ludicrous way. The effects of the rain on the previous day were still strongly visible in the puddles around the station. To avoid them, an empty luggage car was at our arrival drawn close to our car, and we were invited to step over, in order to facilitate our descent. But scarcely had we set foot on it, when it was suddenly drawn off some

twenty yards farther, and Judge Spalding (of the Supreme State Court) standing on the car, delivered the following address:—

"Governor Kossuth,—We come in behalf of the people of Ohio, to greet you upon your entrance within our borders. We bear to you a message from the Capital of our State; not from the executive and legislative functionaries, but from their masters—*the people*, who wear hats, it is true, instead of crowns, but they are the only sovereigns amongst us. They bid us to say you are welcome.

"You are now, sir, in the midst of a community of 2,000,000 of souls, who are as free as the air, and as fearless as free, who are grateful to God for their civil and religious privileges, and desirous that the whole human family shall become participants in the blessings of self-government. They now bid me to say to you, 'be of good cheer.' We know your wishes, we understand your wants. We think it strictly compatible with all just notions of governmental policy that your wishes be gratified and your wants be supplied. You want money to effect the liberation of Hungary; you *must* have it. You want bayonets, they *shall* be supplied;" and so on.

The people were evidently going "ahead" of the legislation, whose resolutions in favour of Kossuth, though strong enough, were couched in more parliamentary terms. The deputations from Massillon and Canton were quite aghast, when they saw, that though they were at the threshold of the station-house, the rival deputation had succeeded in the strife for precedency.

In the evening we arrived at Cleveland. A neat, clean, and agreeable city, on Lake Erie: Americans call it the "Forest-city," though the original forests have disappeared. Cleveland has a most lovely aspect; with the exception of the business street, every house is surrounded by a *garden.*

It was for the first time that I found love of nature in an American population. On our journey, until here, I had always missed pleasure-grounds and trees around the cottages. The first settlers appear to think that every tree is a nuisance, and I was sorry to see, that even where the loghouses were erected in the midst of the woods, all the fine sycamores, elms, and beeches were girdled, or cut down, and none of them were spared to grant a shady playground for the children. Some remaining stumps, too large for immediate extirpation, were often the only traces of the once beautiful forest.

The torchlight procession in Cleveland,—for every city prided herself in giving Kossuth a triumphal reception,—was got up in the best taste; and so were the great popular meetings in the street where he addressed the crowd, and in the "Melodeon," where the association of the friends of Hungary addressed him.

Our friend Mr. Vaughan, the editor of the "True Democrat," had conducted all the arrangements in the most admirable way. But his task was comparatively easy, as the population of Cleveland consists principally of New Englanders; with whom the love of order is made innate.

Mr. Vaughan himself is a native of South Carolina, the son of a slaveholder. But as soon as he became independent, and by his own experience could feel the evils of slavery—a curse not only for the black, but likewise for the white population, because it stamps work with degradation, keeps the white in idleness, and makes public education on a broad scale impossible,—he left his native State. First he removed to Kentucky, where he conducted an Abolitionist paper with so much prudence, that in spite of the principles he advocated, he did not get into trouble with the slaveholders. He afterwards left for *Cleveland*, where the great majority of the people shares *his opinions*. The chivalrous spirit, and even the personal

appearance of Mr. Vaughan, mark him as a child of the sunny South amongst the wan countenances and sharp features of the descendants of New England.

We had scarcely retired to rest on the first evening of our arrival, very tired from our journey, when we were suddenly roused by music in the street. It was not Anglo-American music; the Germans of Cleveland brought a serenade to Kossuth, and I was delighted to hear that the German emigrants, though in political respect soon Americanised, have retained their love and talent for music. Wherever a dozen of Germans meet in America, you may be sure that you find a glee club and a good song. And though party feeling runs high amongst them, it does not interfere with the harmony of their melodies. They are conscious that they have a great task to perform in America to introduce art and the feeling for the beautiful amongst the Anglo-Saxons, who are the most unmusical and unartistical people of the world. It seems that their greatness in poetry absorbs entirely their feeling for art. With few brilliant exceptions, they understand it only in this form. No other nation has such iconoclast tourists as England, who destroy statues in order to get a relic.

Mr. Ferguson, the Indian antiquary, rejoices that the rock caves of Carli are still inhabited by filthy Fakirs, lest the beautiful bas-reliefs, now blackened by the cooking fire of the saints, would be carried off piecemeal by English picnic parties, who have already defaced the invaluable frescoes of the Ajunta caves. Were the pyramids not so gigantic, English tourists would probably have brought them over in their carpet bags. An eminent English resident in Egypt, expressed lately his apprehension, that the colossal statue of Ramesses in Memphis, will be destroyed by those of his countrymen who like so much to scratch their names on every temple of Egypt. Of course I do *not speak of those* great men who have rescued not only

for their country, but for the civilised world, the masterpieces, which we admire in the British Museum, and in private English collections, but of the great majority of travellers, who do not feel the influence of the monuments of antiquity, and think that age is their only merit. The beauty of the Portland vase did not preserve it from destruction in the British Museum; in the galleries of France and Italy, equally thrown open to the public, no such outrage ever has been perpetrated. The people of Berlin and Munich respect the frescoes on the outside walls of the museum, and under the arcades, though no policeman watches them.

If the Germans are able to impart the feeling for beauty to American life, they will richly repay the hospitality of the free soil. They will not only add enjoyment to American society, but they will educate the feeling of the Anglo-Saxons in the United States to the level of their practical understanding, in which again the Germans are deficient.

## II. THE WESTERN RESERVE.

Cleveland is the chief city of the "Western Reserve," a name which reminds us of the most interesting period in the history of colonisation, and is connected with the first difficulties experienced by the Union in establishing new States. Transatlantic experience may be valuable for the English, who find in their colonies similar difficulties to those of the Americans.

At the time of the first English plantations on the North American shores, the Indian title to the land was utterly disregarded by the mother country. The charters granted to the colonies, extended their virtual territory all across the Continent, and left it to the settlers to extinguish the

Indian title by war or purchase. The treaty with France in 1763, gave them the Mississippi for their western boundary.

But the Alleghanies were, with the exception of a few fortified places on the Lakes and on the Ohio, the frontier of the colonies. Adventurous settlers crossed them soon after the peace with France, great land companies were formed, the border-warfare with the Indians drove the Red race farther West, and Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, with their boundaries badly defined in the charters, came into collision with one another, by asserting their territorial claims across the Alleghanies.

After the war of Independence, the western difficulties were of the highest importance for the infant State. To avoid in future conflicts with the tribes, it was enacted by law, that no private person could acquire landed property from the Indians. To make treaties for cession of land was reserved for the Federal government and to the individual States; and settlement amongst the Indians, where the Indian title had not yet been extinguished by treaty, was discountenanced. Kentucky was the first larger tract colonized across the Alleghanies. And the difficulties both to Kentucky and to the mother State Virginia, with which the erection of this Commonwealth into a separate State was connected, induced the statesmen of America to recommend the cession of all the public lands by the individual States to the Federal government. New York and Massachusetts first took the step, and Connecticut followed in 1786, giving up all her western claims, with the exception of a tract of land extending 120 miles beyond Pennsylvania, where she reserved for herself not only the property, but also the jurisdiction. This tract got the name of the "Western Reserve of Connecticut." Half a million of acres from it were granted by the State Legislature *to the citizens* who had in the war lost property by the

acts of British troops, and this part of the country is still called the "Fire lands and Sufferer's lands." The remainder of the domain was sold in 1795 to a land company for 1,200,000 dollars, and the purchase money remained as a fund for public education in Connecticut. Taught by the example of Kentucky, the State legislature, by the deed of the sale, vested the jurisdiction over the Western domain in the settlers, who soon afterwards formed with their neighbours on the district, which Virginia had formerly owned, the State of Ohio. The old property of Connecticut maintains until now the name of the Western Reserve, though all connection with that State has ceased. But it is peopled from Connecticut, and the New English habits of Puritanical order and sobriety yet distinguish the inhabitants in their new home. Their towns and cities are remarkably neat, their schools well managed, their manners polite. It is a miniature of New England in the West.

In pursuance of the recommendation of Congress, all the States at length made cessions of their public lands and claims, as respects property as well as jurisdiction, to the Federal government. Virginia had been the largest proprietor in the West, and as settlements were already made over a great portion of her domains under *her* regulations and laws, the Western country became, in the year 1800, the subject of special legislation by Congress. The land where the Indian title was extinguished, and where the settlements of the immigrants were allowed, was divided into different "*Territories*," and a temporary government was established for them. Congress appointed a Governor for each Territory for the term of three years, with the power to appoint magistrates in the counties and townships, for the preservation of peace and good order. A Secretary was likewise nominated for the term of four years, and Judges, who, with the Governor, had the power

to adopt and publish such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as might be best suited to the circumstances. It was decreed, that as soon as there should be 5000 free male inhabitants in the Territory, they should have authority to elect a general Assembly, consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Representatives. The Territory was to be surveyed, divided into counties and townships, the townships into thirty-six sections, each of 640 acres, every sixteenth section to be reserved for the school fund of the future State. The rights guaranteed by the constitution to every citizen of the United States were extended to the inhabitants of the Territory, and it was expressed, that whenever a Territory shall be erected into an independent State, it should be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other States, provided that it acknowledges the existing debt of the United States, and has a republican government.

This ordinance has become the rule, under which since that time all the new States have been established; with the sole exception, that for all future cases Congress reserved to itself the enactment of the first fundamental laws in every newly constituted Territory, during the early period in which no Assembly could as yet be called together; whilst in the North-Western Territory on the Ohio ceded by Virginia, the laws of this State had in some part been recognized. Since the United States have become wealthy, they also provide the Territories with the necessary funds for raising the public buildings, and the higher educational establishments, and for conducting the government. Originally a large grant of land was made to the Governor and Secretary of the Territory; but now they are paid out of the treasury of the United States, and are always nominated from amongst the resident settlers; in the Mormon Territory of Utah for instance, *Brigham Young*, the Mormon prophet, was appointed Go-

vernor by Congress. The first State in this way admitted into the Union, was Ohio in 1802.

## III. COLUMBUS.

*(From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.)*

*Feb. 6th.*—On the 4th, we set out from Cleveland in a railway-car gaily adorned, as usually, on our journey. It was fully crowded, so much that I was surprised to read in the paper that it was a special car for us. But the committees that accompanied us were numerous; their wives, children, and relatives, liked to participate in the festive trip; and altogether they were so many, that even the large American railway-car could scarcely accommodate them. We stopped at Beria, Grafton, Lagrange (so called in honour of the country-seat of Lafayette in France), at Wellington and New-London. All these embryos of future towns consist of scattered plank-houses, and sketches of streets, paved as yet only with mud. The scenery offered no attraction; the woods around are all young. A tree two centuries old is very rare; they were burnt in the Indian border-warfare, to frighten away the deer, and with them the hunters. The carelessness of the Indians was also often the cause of large fires, which consumed the forests. The ground here is swampy, and frozen puddles glittered from amongst the frail trees. Wherever we stopped, curious eyes peeped into the cars, and open mouths uttered the yells harmonizing so well with the diapason of the shrill engine-whistle.

I had an interesting conversation with a German resident of Cleveland, who, though already a citizen of America, was not yet Americanized. He remarked that sooner or later all the Germans coming to the United States lose their nationality. I told him that I thought, that it was

because their language and turn of mind are too metaphysical, that they must yield to a practical people. Power has always rested with force and action, not with thought and reasoning.

We dined at Shelby. It was one of those public meals, where hundreds of curious eyes devour every one of our glances and our movements, and our appetites into the bargain. The dishes on the table were choice,—a mixture of English, French, and German fare; but, as generally in America, they were not cleanly prepared, and therefore not savory. Our party had hardly left the seats, when the public rushed to the table, seized upon the dainties, and made them disappear in an instant. As the dinner, according to the papers, was prepared "for Kossuth and his suite," the "New York Herald" has an excellent opportunity to write a leader on Hungarian gluttony.

It was late in the evening when we arrived at Columbus, the capital of Ohio. We had again a festive entry, with horsemen and trumpets, and torchlights, and music. Kossuth was introduced to the Houses of Legislature, a legislative banquet was given, a meeting of the people held in the street, and a public meeting of the Association of "the Friends of Hungary" was followed by the presentation of funds.

Governor Wood was at the head of all these demonstrations. He is an eminent specimen of a Westerner; unassuming and cordial in his manners, progressive in his views, bold in their assertion, energetic in his actions. Though no longer young, and with a countenance worn and bearing the traces of toils, his conversation is animated and full of vigour. He seems highly popular in his State, and gives the impression of a man thoroughly void of selfishness.

The family of Governor Wood was as interesting for me as himself. His daughter, Mrs. Mirvin, boards in the

hotel during the session of the Legislature, with her husband, and with their children; they occupy but a single room, their farm, where they live more comfortably, being in the country. The children are brought up in the independent Western way: they have no nursery maid, they attend on themselves, and yet they look as nice as any of the petted little ones of New York and Philadelphia. Not to depend on servants, is early taught in the West, where they are scarce; indeed all of them are either free coloured persons or Irish. The latter are apt to be so entirely under the control of their priests, who sometimes find an interest in having a spy in the families of influential men, that people generally prefer the blacks.

In the asylum for the deaf and dumb,—an airy and spacious building, with fine grounds,—I was struck by a feature new to me; several of the teachers here were deaf and dumb. We were present at their prayers; one of the teachers read the prayers by signs, which all of them repeated, and the expression in the countenance of some of them, was that of the most exalted devotion.

The State Prison, with the discipline of the Auburn system, is much more gloomy than the Penitentiary at Pittsburgh, which I had visited last week. Major Beckum told me *there*, that the principal cause of crimes in Western Pennsylvania was drunkenness; manslaughter therefore, and murder were frequent: *here* the accomplished physician of the prison, our amiable friend Dr. Thompson, told me, that it was the crimes against property that peopled the prison. Perhaps the respect of American society for the "Almighty Dollar," which makes the acquisition of wealth the aim of every exertion, may account, in great measure, for the thefts, larcenies, and forgeries, which sometimes are committed even by members of respectable families, as the register before me shows. A similar idea occurred to me in the Lunatic

Asylum, a magnificent establishment. When I asked the physician, Dr. Smith, a native of Sweden, *which class* of society furnished the majority of lunatics? he answered, to my astonishment, "the farmers, they work too hard, and have no holidays. Rest here in the asylum restores them almost always." I had thought, that the gambling population of the cities, with their sudden fortunes and reverses, were nearer to the brink of mental alienation than the agriculturists, with their regular and steady pursuits. But the remark of the physician is certainly profound. Sunday is here a day of exclusively prayers, not likewise of relaxation and enjoyment, and the Anglo-Saxon race has forgotten how to amuse themselves with trifles. You find the merry Old England now only in poetry. Since the time of Cromwell and his Puritans the people have a gloomy cast, and the business habits of our age have destroyed the anciently gay character of the race. A sprightly Englishman or American is an exception. The dance under the Maypole, social music, and the deep feeling for the beauties of nature, so profoundly rooted in the German mind, are unknown to the American farmer. He toils hard, and he does not know contentment; he always longs for more. Give to a Hungarian or a German a moderate income, just enough to maintain the family; a blue sky, a green meadow, a shadowy tree in summer; a comfortable stove, a song and chat in winter; and he does not care for all the riches of the world. American restlessness is, therefore, tedious to the German emigrants, and especially their wives rarely feel comfortable in this steeple-chase for fortune. A German lady, who visited me here, told me how her husband had come over with a handsome capital from Germany; how they lost it in a paper-manufactory; and how they retrieved their property, first by keeping a school, and then by buying land, which since had risen above all their expectation. "Every

German loses his money here (said she), who enters into speculation, he is not sharp enough for the Americans. But every one of us prospers, who buys land and works hard. But yet (continued she) I hope not to die here; I long for the quiet hearty life of Germany. Were it not oppressed by despots, and stripped of all freedom, we should have long returned. A poor man there has more enjoyment than the rich here; nothing but the freedom of America makes life here supportable. Were Germany politically free, not one of us would cross the ocean, to live amongst this joyless people."

## CINCINNATI—STATISTICS—COTERIES—CASSIUS M. CLAY—M. O. MITCHELL—NICHOLAS LONGWORTH.

AMERICAN grandiloquence is too well known. We can scarcely suppress a smile, when every Westerner whom we meet, assures us in the first moment of our acquaintance, that America is a great country. But when we see Cincinnati, with its 130,000 inhabitants, its extensive commerce and navigation; the canal connecting the Ohio with Lake Erie; the railways radiating in every direction from this common centre; its schools and colleges; its astronomical observatory; its ninety-two churches and chapels; its ten daily papers, and its numerous beneficent institutions; and, when we remember, that in 1788, this city was laid out in the wilderness, we must excuse the boast of the American. He has full right to pride himself on his nation and on its energies. After the difficulties he has surmounted, and with the self-confidence they have inspired in him, he does not know the limit which could stop his progress.

Cincinnati has, in a short time, outgrown all the settlements in the Mississippi basin; even Louisville, in Ken-

tucky, and St. Louis, in Missouri, though they are of older date, and have likewise increased rapidly. "They are on the wrong side of the river," I was told by a *Hoosier* (Indianaman), a great opponent of the "peculiar institution." But, in this respect, he had evidently overshot the mark. The reason is merely geographical. The back country of Cincinnati—Ohio and Indiana—is larger in extent, and far more populous than that of Louisville; and St. Louis will grow yet more rapidly, as soon as the settlements in the basin of the Missouri shall be more dense. Cincinnati is, besides, connected already by canals and railroads with the lakes and with the eastern seashore, whilst her rivals lack this advantage. Until now, therefore, she deserves her epithet of the "Queen City of the West." The site of the city is admirable—a natural semicircular amphitheatre, descending from the higher table-land around, in three terraces, down to the banks of the Ohio. The climate is agreeable and healthy,* the population industrious and enterprising, though not homogeneous. Fifty-four per cent. of the inhabitants are native Americans, twenty-eight per cent. Germans, twelve Irish, four English, and two per cent. of other countries. By such statistics, the diatribes of the *native party* have been silenced, and the Cincinnatians themselves acknowledge that their city is indebted, in a great degree, to the industry of foreigners, for its rapid growth. "Their presence," says Mr. Cist, "has accelerated the execution of our public improvements, and given an impulse to our immense manufacturing operations, without which they could not have reached their present extent and importance."†

* The proportion of deaths to population in Cincinnati is one in forty, whilst in London one in thirty-eight, in Paris one in thirty-two, in Rome one in thirty-five, and in New Orleans one in twenty.

† *Sketches and Statistics* of Cincinnati, in 1851.

By examining the statistical returns of the manufacturing and industrial products of Cincinnati, we find that *pork* is the great staple of the city. The yearly average number of hogs cut up in the market is about three hundred and seventy-five thousand; the number of hands employed in the process of cutting up, pickling, and curing, may be averaged at two thousand five hundred; the value of the product, in form of pork, bacon, lard, lard-oil, and stearin, was, in 1851, estimated at $8,765,000. Next in importance are the distilleries. The yearly value of the alcohol, whiskey, and liquors, from them, is estimated at $4,191,000; and the mills producing flour yield a gross annual sum of $1,700,000. It is in those forms that the agricultural products of the West find their way to the great markets. The States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Kentucky, kill, and cure, and pickle 1,000,000 of hogs every year. The principal market for this article is the South, salt pork being the usual food of the slaves. Great quantities go also to the East, for the whalers and fishers of Maine and Massachusetts, and for the United States' navy. The iron foundries and engine manufactories are here less important than in Pittsburg, but they deserve notice, as well as the saddlers and harness-makers who have established themselves here, where hogs'-skins are never deficient. But the principal business of Cincinnati is the "commission" business. They receive wares for all the North West, from New York by the Erie and Miami canal, and send in return the exports to the East, by the Ohio, Mississippi, and the sea. To show how easy it is here to find employment for capital, it suffices to mention, that the bankers allow always six per cent. interest on current accounts. For special deposits for twelve months they pay ten per cent., and for six *months* eight per cent. At the time of our stay in Cincinnati, the money market was very tight, and the interest

still higher. The navigation on the Ohio and Mississippi having been stopt by ice for an unusually long period, the exports of the country were accumulating, and the balance due to the East was to be met with cash, or good bills.

The people of Cincinnati are well aware that commerce alone is not sufficient for the prosperity of their community; they have not forgotten the duties of national education. They have thirteen public schools, with a staff of one hundred and thirty-eight public teachers, at a yearly expense of $68,000, raised by taxes. There is, besides, a central school and a *Free College*, open to all, without cost, who have distinguished themselves in the public schools. The Roman Catholic Archbishop, in order that his parishioners may not be taught in the "godless" free schools, has established thirteen parochial schools, supported by the Roman Catholics at an annual cost of $13,000, which is raised by voluntary subscriptions. One of these establishments is under the superintendence of the Jesuits, another under the charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame. Besides, there are here four medical Colleges,* one law school, several mercantile schools, five theological seminaries, one "Farmers' College," and about fifty private schools. The coloured schools, three in number, with nine teachers, are separated from the others. For so young a city, the educational establishments deserve the highest credit.

The society of Cincinnati lacks cohesion. The majority have immigrated,—only 33,000 out of the 130,000 belong by birth to the city, and the State of Ohio. They have therefore retained their different national customs and manners, and are divided into coteries,—which have little social intercourse with one another,—not into classes, as in other places. Amongst the native Americans here, South-

* 1. The Ohio Medical College: 2. The Eclectic Medical College, including Homœopathy and Mesmerism; 3. The Phyto-Medical College, abstaining from metallic physics; 4. The College of Dental Surgeons.

ern blood is prevalent. Virginia has planted in Ohio her revolutionary soldiers, and has given them grants of land as remuneration for their services. Kentuckians flock daily in, to make money in commercial enterprise; of the free States none but Western Pennsylvania adds considerably to the population of Cincinnati. It is only the children of the present generation, those who now frequent the same schools, and are cemented together by daily intercourse, who will give a more uniform stamp to the character of the population. The Americans know this, and therefore they are not favourable to parochial schools, which always remain exclusive. The efforts to erect German schools have for the same cause failed until now, but Roman Catholicism has still maintained its exclusiveness.

On many occasions I myself witnessed this division of Cincinnati Society. I preceded Kossuth thither, in order to deprecate on his part all costly processions, pageantry, and banquets, and as he was exhausted already by speeches, I wished to arrange matters so, that he should only once address the multitude, and once those who had formed themselves into associations of friends of Hungary.

But as soon as I was introduced to the Committee of Arrangements, I saw that my diplomacy must fail. Thirty gentlemen belonged to that body, and the great question was just under discussion, whether besides the Mayor of the City, it should be the Chairman of the City Council, or the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who has to occupy the carriage with the "City's guest" at the festive entry. I do not remember how this grave concern was settled, but, of course, it was impossible under such circumstances to carry the proposal that *no* procession should be held. Besides, every coterie claimed a separate speech, and the result was, that Kossuth had to address "the Big *people*" of Cincinnati at a banquet, and others again at "*Nixon's* hall," and then the Ladies, and the Northern

Germans, and the Southern Germans, and the fashionable public at large, and the lower classes at large, and likewise the inhabitants of Covington, the suburb of Cincinnati on the Kentucky side.

But this was not the only consequence of the want of homogeneity in the population of Cincinnati. Kossuth several times requested the members of the Committee to allow, that he should himself bear his own expenses, and that the appropriation made for his entertainment by the City Council, which had invited him, should be given to the Hungarian fund. The Committee-men declined to comply with his desire, it seemed to them mean to do it. We left Cincinnati, and Mr. Coleman, the lessee of the Burnet-house,—the splendid hotel, in which we had been accommodated,—presented his bill to the City Council, but the Council, divided in the same way as the population, reduced the bill *first* by one-third, and *then*—repudiated the claim altogether, though the arrangements were entered into by their own members, who had been authorized to do so. I do not know whether Mr. Coleman recovered his claim, but I know, that nowhere in the United States did we find an establishment better kept, or an attendance better regulated than here.

In the Burnet-house I made the interesting acquaintance of Cassius M. Clay, a relative of the admired statesman, himself a man of uncommon intellectual faculties and moral boldness. He is a Kentuckian, and an avowed enemy of slavery. But instead of taking discretion for the best part of valour, and emigrating from his State, he first set a good example to his countrymen by freeing his slaves, and then bearded the lion in his den by publishing an abolitionist paper in Lexington, the Capital of Kentucky. Of course he had to fight several duels with hot-headed planters and slave-breeders, but he never missed *his aim, either* with pen or pistol, and the fatal issue of

such challenges frightened the opponents. They therefore excited the mob, attacked his house, destroyed the furniture, and removed the press of his paper forcibly to Cincinnati. Mr. Clay was dangerously ill at this time, but as soon as he recovered, he brought to the test by a lawsuit, whether the Constitution of the United States protects the property of a citizen in a slave State, when he is an abolitionist. Considerable interest was roused by this case; the judge and jury had virtually to decide, whether liberty of the press is granted in the South, or a censorship established. But, to the honour of Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay succeeded, and heavy damages were awarded to him.—As an anti-slavery man he had objected seriously to the annexation of Texas, because he knew its consequences:—a Mexican war, and perhaps a territorial extension of slavery; but when the war had broken out, he entered the volunteers himself, that nobody might think he objected to the war from cowardice. His style is elegant and manly, and bears the stamp of earnest conviction.

Another Kentuckian, Mr. O. M. Mitchel, is now the pride of Cincinnati. Brought up in the Military Academy at West Point, he became at the age of nineteen, assistant professor of Mathematics in the Academy, and at twenty-two surveyed several railway lines; but resigned his position, and engaged in the practice of *law* for two years; then opened a scientific school in Cincinnati; organized a company for a railroad, which he himself had planned and surveyed, and became at last professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at the Cincinnati College. There he found his appropriate sphere. Astronomy was the science to which he devoted himself, and his next aim was the establishment of an Observatory, with the necessary instruments, at "Porkopolis." It was a great task; nobody else took *interest* in the matter; but by his unceasing efforts he was *able to* create an excitement on the subject, and to accom-

plish the result. The funds were raised by subscription. Mr. Longworth, the Crœsus of Cincinnati, presented the Observatory with four acres of land on Mount Adams,—and in 1845 the building was finished and furnished with instruments. Professor Mitchel has since invented a magnetic clock and a new declination apparatus. He lectures often in the Atlantic cities on Astronomy, to make this science popular and appreciated. But though engaged intensely in prosecuting his professional labours, he remains always the practical American, busy to forward plans for the development of the resources of the country. Whilst we were at Cincinnati, we found him engaged in forming a company for a great railroad between this city and St. Louis, to connect the Ohio straight with the mouth of the Missouri. Professor Mitchel is still in the prime of life, scarcely above forty, and a bright career of fame and wealth lies before him.

A different specimen of an American is Mr. Nicholas Longworth, the wealthiest citizen of Cincinnati, who made a large fortune by buying land. As an example of the facility with which small amounts have become the source of immense riches, I was assured on good authority, that Mr. Longworth, at the time when he followed his law practice, once received, as legal fee, from a person accused of horse-stealing, two second-hand copper stills, then in charge of a publican. The publican was just building a distillery, and therefore did not wish to part with the stills, but instead he offered the lawyer thirty-two acres of land valued at three dollars each. Longworth, trusting in the future advance of real estate, accepted them, and this ground, upon which a part of the city is built, is now worth two millions of dollars. He was well aware, that with the increasing wealth of Cincinnati, his own landed property must proportionably increase in value; he therefore parted *with alternate lots* of property on easy credit, and lent

money to such purchasers as would build houses on it. In this way he facilitated settlement in the city, by which his own property was augmented. He is the great land-dealer, always ready to buy and to sell lots in Cincinnati and the adjacent country. But his merits rest chiefly in the introduction of the manufacture of wine from the native grape, and in the improved cultivation of the strawberry. He is eccentric, and prides himself on being so. An anecdote related by Mr. Cist is very characteristic in this respect. Mr. Cist applied to Longworth for a contribution to relieve the wants of a destitute widow. "Who is she?" asked Mr. Longworth,—"Is she a deserving object?" Mr. Cist said, he had good reason to believe that she was an excellent person, and applied herself day and night to support a large family of small children. "Very well," answered Mr. Longworth, "I then shan't give a cent; such persons will always find plenty to relieve them. I shall assist none but the idle, drunken, worthless vagabonds, that nobody else will help. If you meet with such a subject, call upon me." And really, he seems to have been in some measure in earnest, for when the Mormons were driven away from Illinois, and applied to Mr. Longworth for assistance, he gave them ten dollars,—people say: the largest amount he ever gave to an individual. "They have a claim on me," said he, "because nobody else gives them anything, as they are not Christians."

## V. CINCINNATI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.—SPIRITUAL RAPPINGS AND MESMERISM.—PSYCHOMETRY.

(*From Mrs. Pulszky's Diary.*)

*Feb. 9th to 25th.*—The landing-place at the Ohio offers a grand view. About thirty gigantic steamers are always to be seen here; some coming, others going; some loading, others discharging. Heavy waggons throng the banks;

everybody seems to be interested in the heaps of wares they carry; we feel that this place is one of the great markets of America. Along the river there are extensive store-houses, filled with busy labourers, like bee-hives. Higher up rise the brick and stone buildings of the wealthy, and the frame and wood houses of those who are striving to grow rich. The Germans live all together across the Miami Canal, which is, therefore, here jocosely called the "Rhine." The associations coupled with this name are multiplied by the vines, which cover the hills around the city. It is the only place in the United States where the culture of grapes is carried on to any large extent. But even here all the European sorts of vine have failed; the native Catawba alone has succeeded, and gives a very pleasant beverage, though not to be compared with the better sorts of European wines; Americans drink it and pay for it more from patriotism than by taste. The villas and country-seats of the citizens of Cincinnati, on the heights, command a most beautiful view; gardens are laid out around them, and the houses, though nearly all of them frail wood structures, look very elegant.

Of the institutions, the most interesting to me was the recently established House of Refuge, or rather of correction for vagrant children, and juvenile offenders. They here get general instruction: the boys are trained to mechanics' work, the girls sew, and are trained to house service. I was told that a similar establishment in New York has the result, that three fourths of the pupils become useful and respectable members of society. Another excellent institution, "the Widows' Home," is mainly due to the energy and liberality of Mr. Smead, an eminent banker of Cincinnati.

On the 23d, we visited the "Farmers' College." We could not inspect it in detail, for we had to hear a speech of one of the teachers, to which Kossuth was expected to

answer. The students and the pupils from the "Ladies' College" in the neighbourhood formed a very numerous audience. One of the trustees of the establishment introduced the girls to us saying, "these are the sweethearts and future wives of the students." The indelicacy of this remark appeared to me very inappropriate, both for the students and for the young ladies; yet, except our party, no one else seemed to observe it. Here in the West, I notice a style of conversation very different from what we are accustomed to in the society of Europe, and of the Atlantic cities of America.

Large schools for young ladies—where they board—are to be found all over the United States, but home-education is still rarer in the West than in the East. The wealthy merchant and lawyer sends his daughter to the fashionable schools of New York and Boston, but the shopkeeper, mechanic, and farmer wishes likewise to have his daughter instructed in sciences and arts, and, therefore, we see often here such monster establishments, where two or three hundred girls live under the same roof, and learn something of every science and art; classics and mathematics, mental philosophy and astronomy, drawing and music, dancing and languages; then they marry a Western man, and must cook and sew, and often wash and iron, when they cannot get a servant;—in short, they must set about just the very things which they have never been taught in the college.

Another phase of female life, in the Western cities, struck me very much. When in Columbus, a very sensible gentleman mentioned to me, that there are persons in the United States, and especially in the West, who have communications with the spirits of deceased persons. I was much amused by hearing this, and began to speak *jestingly* about the matter. To my great astonishment, *however*, I found that the gentleman was in good earnest.

He told me that, some years back, in a certain house in Rochester, western New York, rappings were heard which could not be accounted for in any natural way, and tables and chairs were moved without any visible agency.

"This is the German goblin, the *Pottergeist* of the nursery tales," exclaimed I; "you can trace him to the Arabian Nights. Is it not quite curious to find him here residing in the far West?"

"No, no," said the gentleman, "these are spirits of deceased persons."

"How can you prove it?"

"Well," answered he, "we Americans investigate every thing, and it was soon found out that three rappings mean '*yes*,' and two '*no*.' Questions were put, and the replies proved almost always correct; they often were quite astonishing. The communications became more frequent, and several ingenious inventions were made, to get longer answers from the spirits. For instance, an alphabet was taken: the letters were numbered, and the spirits marked by rappings the number of the letter which they wished to be reported. For A they rap once, for D four times, and so on. But later, the spirits prepared for themselves *writing* and *speaking mediums*, who write and speak without any volition. They don't know what they are writing, their hand is moved by the spirits. Most of them do it with closed eyes, and often about matters and in languages they do not understand. Several books have been written in this way."

"And what are the subjects of these revelations?" asked I.

"They treat on the condition of the spirits in the other world. How they are taught there by more perfect spirits, and how they migrate to higher spheres, until they reach the seventh. But we have as yet no description of the *highest spheres*."

"Justinus Kerner, the German poet," said I, "would here have his delight. What you tell me is the continuation of his 'She-Seer of Prevorst?' Do spirits here too drink beer, as the German spirits of Justinus Kerner did? And is the American free-school system, also, possibly introduced in heaven? At least, one of Kerner's *seers* (as the Germans call your *mediums*) found the Wurtemberg school system introduced there."

"You jest," said the gentleman; "but I can assure you, that sincere men, of sound judgment and of good education, have had visions. Judge Edmonds, for example, of the New York Supreme Court. And is not the last communication from Benjamin Franklin, by rappings, through a young girl of twelve years, entirely in his style and his turn of mind? To use time well, does not mean to do the most in an hour, but in a lifetime."

"Then you believe in all those manifestations, sir?" asked I, astonished.

"There are," said he, "I must confess, statements which are not to be relied upon. In one of those chronicles of spiritual manifestations, which abounds in poetical beauties, we find that the spirits are taught French and Italian in the other world, that they may understand Racine and Dante, which is rather strange, so much the more, as the German language is not mentioned. Besides the spelling of the spirit is sometimes wrong. Nevertheless, the rappings I myself have heard repeatedly, and I cannot find any physical explanation for them. Like many other people in the United States, I do not believe, but I do not disbelieve; I register the facts, and wait either for a natural explanation, or for an evident proof of supernatural communications. Horace Greely has, as I hear, offered to a medium a hundred dollars for every leading article *of the* London Times, communicated to him in advance of *the steamer*."

"And has this test been successful?" enquired I.

"No," answered the gentleman. "The medium declined the proposal, but positively stated that Sir John Franklin is yet alive, and will be discovered in September."

I dropt the conversation. I remembered that likewise in Germany such alleged manifestations had been fashionable for some time, but they soon disappeared in this crude form, and merged into the phenomena of mesmerism. Soon after, I was in the midst of rappers, and mediums, and believers.

In the first week of our stay in Cincinnati, Captain Kalapsza told me that the Misses Fox, with whom the rappings had originated, at Rochester, were staying at the Burnet House, close to our rooms. He had already paid them a visit, and was astounded by the rappings themselves, and by the answers conveyed in this manner. Yielding to his entreaties, I went with Mr. Pulszky into the room, where we found the two very handsome Misses Fox, their mother, several of the Hungarian gentlemen, and two reporters.

The manifestations immediately began. The young ladies requested us to put questions. I naturally asked, "Shall we return to Hungary?" Three distinct raps were heard on the table from below. The table was uncovered. Miss Fox stood near it, keeping her hand on the edge of the table. I closely watched her movements: the rap did not proceed from her. I asked several other questions of a similar kind, and got just as favourable replies as I could wish. Of course I did not care for them, though one was remarkable. Asking the age of my eldest boy, I was bid to write down a series of different numbers, at the right one the spirit would rap; and this was the case. But such things have been exhibited often by Bosco and similar magicians. It interested me more to investigate *how the raps* were produced. At my request raps were

heard on the window pane, on the door from without, and under the floor. Miss Fox even put four tumblers on the table, and stood upon them, to convince us that it was not she who rapped, and yet the rappings were heard on the table. Doctor Spaczek, our clever physician, was likewise present. He, too, could not tell in what way the rappings were produced, but he rejoiced at least to get an evident proof that they came not from the spirits of deceased persons. He asked whether his father was in heaven? Three raps answered "Yes," whilst the father of our friend lives in good health in Poland. The spirits likewise were at a loss to guess how old Mrs. Spaczek was. They added ten years to her actual age. When the Doctor began to protest against these manifest falsehoods, Miss Fox coolly replied, that she and her sister were not responsible for anything the spirits said, as they, in fact, could not tell whether the spirits who manifested themselves were veracious or lying spirits. That there were lying ones amongst them, they had found out by experience.

On the next day, our visit to the rapping spirits was duly trumpeted and commented upon in the papers. As the exhibitions of the Misses Fox are for an entrance fee, I was not surprised at this progress of "the philosophy of advertising." But the newspaper report became an introduction to us for the spiritual circles of the city. We were mistaken for believers, and got invitations to several of them.

I understood that a spiritual circle is formed in the following way:—A number of persons, who are not sceptic, and amongst whom one at least must be a spiritual medium, sit silently around the table, holding one another's hands, and concentrate their minds. If they meet in such a manner at least once a week, the spirit manifestations *begin*. Rappings are heard, writing mediums are formed, *others* become clairvoyants. There are several such circles

in Cincinnati, and the spirits, who manifest themselves through the mediums, are generally George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Franklin, Zachary Taylor, and Emanuel Swedenborg. There are, besides, two spirit messengers amongst them, as the spirits of the nearest relatives of those who form the circle. Even Sir Robert Peel has made his appearance, and, strange to say, he has become a thorough Republican in the other world, predicting the approach of Republican governments all over Europe, and even in England!

When I saw how far this singular belief had spread here, my curiosity was roused, and my husband began likewise to interest himself in the psychological problem, how it comes that such a practical people as the Americans can entertain such fantastic and extravagant ideas. One of our American friends, in whose family several female mediums were found, professed to have examined the matter earnestly, and to have come to the conclusion, that the manifestations really proceeded from spirits; that there was no cheat, no imposture, though some of the spirits were evidently lying spirits. He had cross-examined one who had pretended to be Emanuel Swedenborg, and had found that he did not understand Latin, and did not know the titles of his own works. But the belief of this gentleman was yet unshaken. It was a lying spirit, but a spirit it was. He assured us that all the spirits took great interest in Kossuth and his cause, and prophesied the speedy liberation of Hungary.

In the evening we visited one of the spiritual parties, to which we had been invited. We found there about twelve persons: gentlemen, ladies, children. One of the ladies shook her right hand violently and nervously. "She will become a writing medium," whispered our host to me, and pointing to another lady, who seemed to be asleep, "We *do not know yet*," he said, "what medium she will be-

come." Among the others there was a good deal of laughing and chatting, certainly no solemn mood prevailed. At last they grew silent, the circle was formed by the connection of the hands. We listened, eyes were closed, breaths audible. But the spirits did not seem to like us, for no manifestation ensued. One of the gentlemen present laid his ear on the table and said: "He knocks, but very slightly." I remarked that I had not heard anything. "Amos"—exclaimed one of the ladies—"are you present?" The gentleman again listened to the table and said: "He knocks." "Amos!"—continued the lady—"will you bring us any manifestations to-night?" The gentleman assured us that he had heard but two knocks—a negative reply. "But who is Amos?" inquired I. "It is the spiritual messenger," was the answer. In the mean time a very handsome lady, with a sweet expression, had fallen asleep, and began to be clairvoyant, but she saw only her father, and did not reveal to us any transcendental thoughts or facts. The bell of the street door was now rung, a letter was brought in, and our host read aloud:

"Can you spare Amos to-night? We have formed a circle and have summoned him, but he does not appear: we presume he is detained by you."

"We cannot spare him," was the general answer, and Amos was not dismissed. He must have been annoyed, for he remained obstinately silent. We got no manifestations, no rappings, no letters, no speeches: we went away, and were invited for another day.

We called again on the 23d of February, the anniversary of the birthday of Washington, at Mr. ———'s, and were told that the spirits had promised a series of manifestations. We entered the room, followed by a young lady and her husband: she was introduced to us as a "*medium*." In the second room an elderly lady, clad in *sprightly* green, with a smile on her radiant face, sat on a

chair and shook both her hands violently. As she beheld Mr. Pulszky, she stretched her arms out over his head, and advanced towards him. He retreated to the wall. "What is she doing?" inquired I. "She is blessing him in Washington's name," replied our host. "We do not know her: she was sent to us by the spirits, who told her that you would visit us to-day. She came at their bidding. There is also an old gentleman, whom we do not know, and who likewise was sent by the spirits."

We sat down to the table, and scarcely was the circle formed, when the elderly green lady began to shake her grizzly curls, whilst an old periwigged gentleman on the opposite side of the table, uplifted his tearful eyes. The green lady stretched out her hands, and spoke with a solemn tone, word after word, as if it were dictated to her:

"Let the Lord have all the praise! To me this is the happiest anniversary, and there will be lasting good come of it, to all who will receive me and all I may say. I am rejoiced to meet all who are here. And the Lord will be with his Vice-gerent, who has been kept away by physical infirmation [sic]. I bless you all in the name of the Lord, who rules over Heaven and Earth.

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

I thought the communication was not less strange than the style of Geo. Washington, and glanced at our host. He seemed to understand me, and asked the green lady, whether they had ever before had communications of George Washington in this circle?

"You shall have them in future," said she.

"But who was then the spirit who wrote through our medium, signed Geo. Washington?"

The green lady did not answer, but closed her eyes, and began to bless Mr. Pulszky and me, and kissed Mme. Kossuth, *and gave her a blessing in her mother's name.*

"What is the name of Mme. Kossuth's mother?" asked our host.

"So many names are fluttering before me," said the green lady; "I see them but I can't read them. Names, names, names, hosts of names. Mary, Sarah, Margaret, is it not one of them?"

Madame Kossuth shook her head, the company seemed disappointed.

A young lady had fallen asleep, and wrote a couple of verses. But the poetry of the spirits was as poor as their prose; yet her brother exclaimed, surprised: "She never in her life has made verses before!" Another very pretty young lady leant backward on her chair as if exhausted, in a very becoming statuesque position. In the streets drums were heard, the militia passed the house, and one of the ladies exclaimed: "An army, an army, all around me!"

"Can you tell me which army?" inquired our host.

"I dare not ask, I promised to obey," was the answer. "All curiosity must be laid aside, all will be cleared in the right time."

"But meanwhile our guests should be convinced by a test," remarked our host. "Will you answer some questions in respect to their relatives?"

The lady nodded.

"Where is my uncle?" asked I in Hungarian.

"All shall be done in the right time," was the answer.

This was conclusive enough; yet the gentlemen in the circle seemed not to feel how ludicrous they appeared. One of the ladies wept, another laught, a medium handed a line to Mr. Pulszky, containing the words: "You had better go;" and so we did. I was no longer astonished at the great number of insane persons in this country—above *15,000* in twenty-three millions—a hundred and fifty per *cent.* more in proportion than in Hungary.

The Americans, especially here in the West, have little leisure to enjoy nature, no art to refine their feelings; their manners proscribe the amusements of Europe. The soul must grow weary of the tinkling of dollars, of the purely material aim of their life. They long for excitement; the ladies grow nervous, and work themselves into trances and visions, and cheat themselves and others. Spiritual circles are formed in lieu of balls and concerts and theatres. The gentlemen attend their representations, and are too much worn out by business to look deep into the matter. Besides, such fancies become epidemical. I remembered that it is here in the West, where in the camp-meetings and the forest-gatherings of the Methodists, people get spasmodic contortions, and begin to roll, to jerk, to dance, and to bark. They have visions and trances, and are thrown into a state of ecstasy, similar to a protracted catalepsy. One of the gentlemen who had come from Turkey with Kossuth, said, that when he saw at Brussa, for the first time, the "howling Dervishes," when they began slowly to move their head forward and backwards, repeating incessantly: "God is great," and went on accelerating their movements and raising their voice, until they got fits, and foamed and fainted, as if possessed, he himself was nearly tempted to join their chorus, and to exclaim with them: "God is great." It was in the same country that the Orgiastic dances of the followers of Cybele astonished the world, edified the illiterate, and disgusted the learned. And similar psychological phenomena return again after centuries, here in the West! I fear that the great progress of which our age boasts, is only a progress in the instruction of the understanding, not in the education of feelings. The believers of Spiritual Manifestations are on a level with the early believers in witchcraft in New England.

*Far more interesting, though not more convincing, than*

the "Spiritual Manifestations," for me, was the Psychometry of Doctor Buchanan. He is a clever phrenologist, an able author, and adept of Mesmer and Spurzheim. He told us that he had often found persons of such delicate perception, that when a letter is put on their forehead, they can describe the moral character of the writer, and he calls this phenomenon "Psychometry."

One evening he brought a young man to us, who, according to the doctor, was endowed with this facility. We tested him first by the handwriting of Mazzini, and were really astonished how correctly and minutely he described his character. But the next test struck me yet more. Mr. Pulszky gave him a paper, and said, in order to mislead him, "it is from a German revolutionary leader," whilst it was Mr. Pulszky's own handwriting. And yet the young man gave so exact a picture of him, as only those could have given who had known him for a long time. One fact was especially striking: "It is a person," said he, "who has more taste and inclination for Art than for Politics. It was an unexpected event which gave to his life a political turn."

And in fact this did happen fourteen years past, but no one could possibly know it in America.

How to account for this, I do not know.

## VI. THE EMIGRANTS.

The West is the place to which the great bulk of European emigration hastens. Men of capital, or higher professional requirements, often remain in the Atlantic cities. Many mechanics there find employment; great numbers stay as servants, and the lowest class, not energetic enough *to go farther*, stop in the lodging-houses and cellars of *New* York, Boston, and Philadelphia. They remain here

as miserable as they have been in Europe, and sooner or later are inmates of the poor-houses or the jails. Yet all those classes of emigrants are only a small fraction of the tide which pours into America, and peoples principally the West.

After the revolution of 1688 emigration from England was scarce, religious persecution had subsided, and the Irish had not yet overcome their love for the home of their ancestors. It was mostly Germans who sought an asylum across the Atlantic. All the persecuted Protestant sects, the Mennonites, the Dunkers, the Schwenfeldians, and Moravians, had scarcely heard that William Penn had planted a Commonwealth on the basis of religious equality, when they looked upon America as on the land of promise, and proceeded thither. Queen Anne encouraged the German settlements, and in consequence of an invitation of her government, promising free passage and a grant of land in America, 30,000 Germans thronged to England in 1709, eager to go to the new world. For such masses passage could not be provided; many of them perished in their encampment on Black Heath; the Roman Catholics —3500 in number—were sent back to Germany, some were settled in Ireland, scarcely one-third reached America. The English statesmen discountenanced German emigration; they began to fear lest the American provinces become German. The emigrants therefore were dispersed among the different colonies, and mass-emigration subsided for a while. Single individuals often worked their way to the colonies as "redemptionists," paying their passage by a serfdom of several years, but no statistical accounts were taken, and therefore it is difficult to ascertain the exact amount of emigration in the last century. It was a small but continuous stream from England, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Germany. The result was, that though in the *New England* States the Anglo-Saxon and Scotch race re-

mained nearly untouched, in all the other States a great mixture of races has taken place. During the war of Independence the only foreign increase of American population was from Hessian deserters. From 1790 to 1820 American statisticians assume that the number of immigrants amounted only to 235,000. In the ten following years the immigration increased to 203,000. But after the events of 1830 political reasons began to act on the emigration movement. The Germans despaired of liberty in Europe, when in 1834 the reactionary tendency became rampant. Moreover, the Irish began to go in masses across the ocean, so that the number of immigrants in the ten years ending in 1840, amounted to 780,000. From 1840 to 1850, 1,543,000 foreigners in all arrived in the United States. Thus the *total* of the immigration into the United States since 1790, and of their descendants, is computed in the census of 1850 to be 4,350,000. It is interesting to see, that until 1845 the immigration scarcely reached 100,000 a year. In 1846, it rose to above 150,000; in 1847, to 230,000; and since the last reactionary movements it has increased considerably, and reaches now 300,000 souls a year.

These official statistics, given by the Census Office, set immediately at rest the pretensions of the Irish, who claim an Irish descent for seven millions of Americans, as well as those of the Germans, who are proud to think that their number amounts to five millions. But on the other hand, the great advocates of the Anglo-Saxon power of absorption must likewise lower their tone, for if many of the Germans have been entirely Americanized even in language, there are yet above 1,000,000 of American citizens who speak the German in preference to any other language, and it is quite natural that a compact population of *nineteen* millions should absorb about two millions in their *stray* settlements. That the foreign immigration really

does not amount to a higher total than is put forth in the tables of the Census Office, is collaterally proved by the Roman Catholic Almanac of Baltimore, which contains the statistics of the Roman Catholics in the United States, and sets them down at two millions, including the Irish, the Germans, the English Marylanders, and the French of Louisiana, though Archbishop Hughes, in order to give more importance to the "Catholic vote," assumes that they amount to three millions. But even this total proves clearly that the aggregate Irish and German blood remains in minority. These facts are little known even in the United States, and are studiously hushed up, lest the German and Irish vote be slighted by the electioneering politicians.

As to the character, the Irish who come to America nearly all begin with working for wages, and afterwards become agriculturists. The Germans have generally a little capital, and are more thrifty than even the Yankees; they therefore soon become substantial farmers. Since 1830, many educated people have arrived among them, and they have tried several schemes of social settlements, upon the theoretical principles put forward in recent years. But with the exception of Rapp's "Economy," and the large establishment of "Ebenezer" near Buffalo, all the communistic experiments have failed, and most of them have given up their social Utopias. But since Germans of literary acquirements and political note have become more numerous here, the idea has grown popular amongst them to form a German Commonwealth in the West; a State with German education, German language, and German institutions. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reasons why this ideal Germany on the Mississippi remains a political dream. One of the German authors himself acknowledges, that the Germans in America fare just as their countrymen in Europe: "Ideas grow with us like mush-

rooms," he says, "and our thoughts shoot up straight to the skies. But when they are to be carried out, then we lose ourselves in the thorny paths of reality. We begin to quarrel how to set forth; every one obstinately clings to his own views, and ridicules those of the other; and the end is, that the world is abandoned to its course. The German looks back with regret to his fading aspirations; the more generous amongst us are satisfied with the treasures of their intellectual property, and the less generous make money and seek office."*

They should not be disheartened. Though a German State is impossible in America, where Yankees and Irish likewise throng westward, it is not necessary that they should give up their language, the treasures of their literature, and their peculiar turn of mind. German thought and feeling will be felt in American society. By transplantation in the new world the Englishman has lost the stubborn exclusiveness of his manners, and the Irish his thoughtless inactivity: both have become open to new influences. They have the desire to accept improvement, in every shape, even from those whose mother tongue is not the English; for in America there is no prejudice against the foreigner. The German finds therefore here not only hospitality but really a home; he can win influence and political power; and in the long run, the admixture of German blood will impart to the American character a stamp yet more different from the English than is it now.

The Irish, too, get wealthy and influential in the United States, and in the second or third generation they sometimes turn Protestants. They seem a different people from those in green Erin; the institutions agree here better with them. They till their own land, they improve it for their children, and the idea of secure property gives them

* T. Löher: History and State of the Germans in America.

the energy and thriftiness which they lack in Ireland. Many of them send money back to their country to enable their relatives to follow them. Whilst England was unable to make them useful, and congratulates herself therefore in their exodus, America receives them readily; they increase the national capital, they people the new States.

Hitherto only the lower classes of Ireland have emigrated, very few of the gentry had gone over. And yet, amongst the land owners, merchants and officials of the States, and in the federal government, we see many Irish rising to distinction; and I never have heard those national faults imputed them here with which they are reproached in the old world. Either they are not dealt fairly with in Ireland, or the passage across the Atlantic has become the fountain of regeneration to them. I am not called upon to decide the alternative.

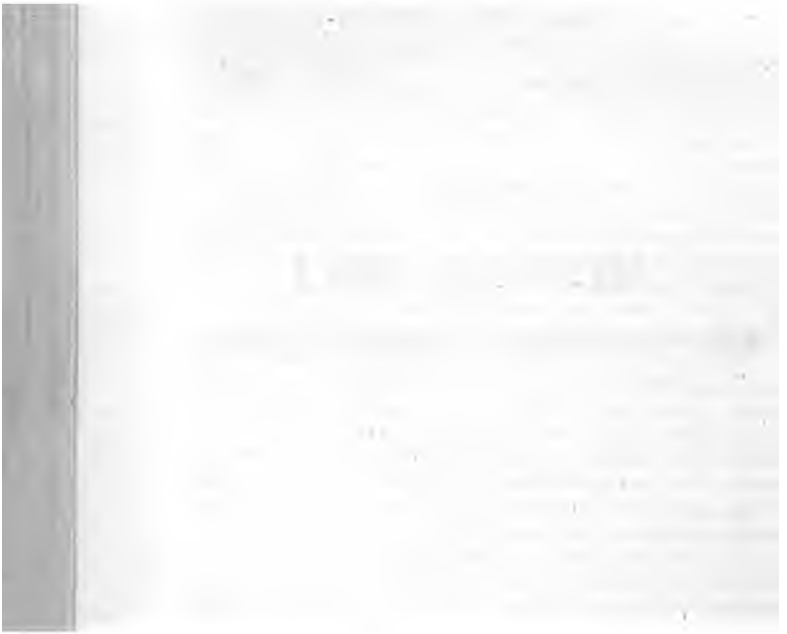
One of the results of the Emigration into the United States is worthy to be noticed by the race-mongers. We hear so often of the superiority of the Teutonic, and especially of the Anglo-Saxon race, and about their exclusive fitness for popular institutions, that many thoughtless people really believe despotism to be a law of nature—the only form of government suited for Celts and Gauls, for the Latin, Sclavonic and Tartar races. Let these gentlemen fix their attention on America, and they will see that individuals of the classes and nations which in Europe are decried as unripe for liberty, become, across the Atlantic, good republicans, thriving under the freest institutions of the world. The standard of morality is here at least as high as in Europe, and the standard of general instruction certainly higher. It would be interesting to investigate from the beginning, how few of those who have settled on the shores of America had political rights in the old country. It was not the high born and wealthy, not the privileged classes of England, who left their country, to seek

an asylum in a new world; it was the so called "dangerous classes," those whose political and religious views were not tolerated in Europe, and those whose poverty excluded them from political rights, who raised the mighty empire of the West. The citizens of the United States are the sons of misery or of persecution; and the statesmen of the Republic did not forget their origin; therefore all attempts to withhold political rights from the new comers have always failed. The short period of five years naturalizes the emigrant, and grants him all the rights of a citizen of the United States. To become a citizen of an individual State, with the right of suffrage for the State elections, requires in the West a yet shorter term. And until now we have not seen any unfavourable results of this system. Once only did the United States depart from their great principle, when, in 1798, they introduced an alien bill, and it became fashionable to say: "it would be good if a sea of fire divided America from Europe." The sound judgement of the people, however, soon rejected these restrictions; the attempt to make a difference of political rights between the inhabitants of the country according to the place of their birth, was given up, and the Americans justly prize themselves more on their institutions than on their race. The pharisaic spirit with which some of them "thank God that they are better than the European people who must be ruled by bayonets," has been rejected by the masses. They feel that the principle of their constitution is not exclusion, but expansion. Whatever Southern Statesmen and Northern Merchants may say, it was not fear of new ideas and clinging to the old, which asserted, and which maintains, the Independence of America. We have seen Republics, and Federations of Republics, long before the United States, but as soon as the spirit of exclusion prevailed with them, they lost their vitality. It is the liberal view taken by the

Union in regard to immigration which prevents stagnation and keeps them always young and buoyant. As a proof of this statement, I mention only, that amongst the Members of Congress in Washington we find representatives of the most different white nationalities—English and Irish, Scotch and Welsh, German and French, Spaniards and Jews. No law excludes even the sons of the Celestial Empire from becoming citizens, who now are flocking to California. There is but one race proscribed in the States —the African.

# APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

## THE NORTHMEN IN NORTH AMERICA.



# APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

## THE NORTHMEN IN NORTH AMERICA.

THE Northmen were a people of princes and pirates. They left their country either to get a crown and to found an aristocracy in foreign realms, or to meet the ignominious death of piratical invaders. Rurik goes eastwards to be the prince of Russia and the founder of her aristocracy; the outlaw Rolf Gange (Rollo), wins Normandy in France by his sword; William the Bastard becomes the Conqueror; Robert Guiscard gets a kingdom in Naples, and Bohemund a dukedom in Antiochia.

Naddod, the Norwegian pirate, had discovered Iceland in the second half of the ninth century, and the snowy island soon became an asylum for oppressed freedom exiled from Norway. The king of the latter country was but the first amongst his equals down to the time when king Harold made proposals by messengers to a girl called Gyda, the daughter of a chief and the fosterchild of a freeman. We read that Gyda replied to the messengers: "Now tell to king Harold these my words—I will only agree to be his lawful wife upon condition that he shall first, for my sake, subject to himself the whole of Norway, so that he may rule over the kingdom as freely and fully as king Erik over Sweden, or Gorm the Old over Denmark, for only then methinks can he be called the king of a people." King Harold became thoughtful, and made a solemn vow never to clip or comb his hair until he had subdued the whole of Norway, with scot, and duties, and domains, or if not, to die in the attempt.

Ten years later he had become sole king over all Norway, and he sent his men to the proud girl, and made her his lawful wife, and he went to a bath and had his hair dressed and cut, which had been uncut and uncombed for ten years: he had been called *Ugly Head*, but now he won the name Harfager, or Fair Hair.

Several of the chiefs and freemen, who would not submit to the despotic rule of the king, fled from Norway. Ingolf, one of them, and his followers went to Iceland, taking with him as his household gods the columns raised in front of his house. When he approached the shore of the new land *which was to become* his home, he cast them overboard, in order to

ascertain where he had to fix his dwelling; for it was the custom to fix it wherever the door-posts were driven ashore: but they floated for a long time, and were driven out of sight. He landed therefore on a point unsanctioned by the omen; and when his servants had, three years later, found these very columns cast ashore at a great distance, he removed his family to the spot, though uninviting and sterile, and erected there his dwellings, and the place was called Reykiavik, and remains until now the capital of Iceland. The isle has been ever since an asylum for freedom and science. "New England perhaps and Iceland are the only modern colonies ever founded on principles, and peopled at first from higher motives than want or gain; and we see at this day a lingering spark in each of a higher mind than in populations which have set out from a lower level."*

A hundred years after Ingolf, Erik, surnamed the Red, fled to Iceland, having committed a homicide in Norway. But in Iceland too he got into quarrels with his neighbors, and having suffered an injury, rashly avenged it by the death of the offender. Condemned to banishment at Thornæsthing, he fitted out a vessel, determined to seek the country in the West, which a seafarer was said to have seen when driven by storm into the Western ocean. He soon found land, explored it, and called it Greenland, in order to induce other Icelanders to settle here, and returned for this purpose to Iceland (985). In the ensuing summer he returned to the land which he had discovered, to fix there his permanent residence, accompanied by many friends and adventurers, amongst whom Heriulf was one of the most prominent, the father of Biarni. Biarni was a youth of great promise, bold and adventurous, seized with an irresistible desire to travel, and by travelling successful in obtaining both fortune and honour. He passed his winters alternately abroad and at home with his father, and had arrived in Iceland from a journey to Norway, just when his father had left the island. Biarni, informed of the departure of Heriulf, was unwilling to disembark, and when the sailors enquired what course he intended to pursue, he replied: "To do as I have been accustomed, and spend the winter with my father; I wish, therefore, to proceed to Greenland, if you are willing to accompany me thither." They assented, and Biarni said, "Our course seems somewhat foolish, when none among us has ever crossed the Greenland ocean." Nevertheless, they put out to sea, when they had refitted their vessel. They made sail for three days, but a strong north-easterly wind, accompanied by thick fogs, carried them they knew not whither. At length they saw land, but according to the description it could not be Greenland; it was not mountainous, but hilly and covered with wood. They left it to the larboard, and sailed two days before they saw land again, it was flat and covered with wood. Then again they stood

* Sam. Laing, "Seakings of Norway."

out to sea, with a south-west wind, and saw a third land, high, and the mountains covered with glaciers, and coasting along it they saw it was an island. Biarni did not land, because the country seemed little inviting, but stood out to sea with the same south-west wind, and sailing with fresh gales, reached, in four days more, Heriulfsness, in Greenland, his father's abode, and remained there all the time his father lived.

After the death of Heriulf, Biarni visited Norway, and was blamed, when he told of his discovery, for not having examined the countries more accurately. But Leif, the son of Erik the Red, who in the meantime had also visited Norway, and had become there a Christian, had in Iceland an interview with Biarni, and bought of him his ship, which he fitted out and manned with thirty-five men, in the year 1000. Erik was to become the leader of the expedition, urged upon by Leif, with assurances that the good fortune of the family would attend him, but when all was ready, and Erik was riding down on horseback to the vessel, which lay near to his residence, his horse stumbled, and Erik said, "Fortune will not permit me to discover more lands than this which we inhabit. I will proceed no farther with you.' Erik then returned home, and Leif went on board with his companions, among whom was a man from Germany named Tyrker.

They set sail, and the first land to which they came was that last seen by Biarni. They made for land, cast anchor and put out a boat; but having landed they found no herbage, frozen heights all above, and the whole space between them and the sea was occupied by bare flat rocks, and Leif said, "We will not do as Biarni did, who never set foot on shore I will give a name to this land, and will call it Helluland, the land of broad stones." (Now the isle of Newfoundland.)

After this they put out to sea and came to another land: they approached, and set foot ashore; it was low and level and covered with wood; in many places where they explored it, there were white sands, and a gradual rise of the coast. Then said Leif, "This land shall take its name from that which most abounds here, it shall be called Markland, the land of woods." (Nova Scotia.) They then re-embarked as quickly as possible, and sailed for two days with a north-east wind till they again came in sight of land, approaching which they touched upon an island, lying opposite to the north-easterly part of the coast. Here they landed and found the air remarkably pleasant. They observed the grass covered with much dew, when they touched this accidentally and raised the hand to the mouth, they perceived a sweetness which they had not noticed before. Returning to their ships they sailed through a bay, lying between the island and a promontory running towards the north coast, and directing their course westward, they passed beyond this promontory. In this bay, when the tide was low, there were shallows left of a very great extent. So great was the desire of the men to land, that, without waiting

for the high tide to carry them nearer, they went ashore at a place where a river poured out of a lake. With the tide they passed first up the river and then into the lake. Having cast anchor they disembarked, and erected first temporary, and subsequently more permanent dwellings, having determined to remain there during the winter. Both in the river and in the lake there was a great abundance of salmon, and of greater size than they had before seen. So great was the goodness of the land, that they conceived that cattle would be able to find provender in winter, none of that intense cold occurring to which they were accustomed in Greenland and Iceland, and the grass not withering very much. The equality in the length of days was greater than in their country, and on the shortest day the sun rose and set at the same time that it rises and sets on the 17th of October at Skalholt in Iceland (from Eyktarstad to Dagmalastad).

Their dwellings being completed, Leif divided his men into two companies, to explore the country and guard the houses, on alternate days. It happened one evening that one of the company was missing, Tyrker, the German, who had lived with Leif and his father a long time, and had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. He was of great importance for the colony, because he was possessed of great skill in every kind of smith's work. Leif severely blamed his comrades, and went himself with twelve others to seek the man: when they had gone but a short distance from the dwellings, Tyrker met them, to their great joy—he had found vines and grapes; he knew them because he was brought up in a land where there was abundance of vines and grapes. The joy of Leif must really have been great, for he had become a Christian in Norway, and Christianity beginning to spread in Greenland and Iceland, the wine, indispensable for the communion, was of the highest importance for those distant northern regions. They now gathered grapes and felled timber, to load their ships, and made all ready for their departure, and Leif called the land Vinland, the land of wine; by the description evidently a part of New England, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.*

* The discovery of wines is the best evidence that Vinland could not lie farther north than Massachusetts; on the other side, several authors, unacquainted with America, inferred from the absence of the cultivation of vines in New England, that the Icelandic Sage is altogether mythical. It is singular in this respect, that all the first English expeditions to Massachusetts did mention the abundance of vines. Philip Amidas and Captain Barlow wrote in 1585, "They found their first landing-place very sandy and low, *but so full of grapes*, that the very surge of the sea overflowed them, of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the green soil, and hills, as in the plains; as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, *that they did think in the world were not like abundance.*" Capt. Bar. Gosmoll, in 1602: "In the island is a lake near a mile in circuit, the rest overgrown with trees, which so well as the bushes were so *overgrown with vines*, we could scarcely pass them—which made us call the island *Marthe's Vineyard*. The relation of Capt. Edward Haslow, in 1614, in the description of *Massachusetts*, mentions the alkermes, currants, mulberries, vines, and gooseberries, as *indigenous* fruits.

They then put out to sea, having a fair wind, and at length came within sight of Greenland and her icy mountains, where they farther saved the crew of Thorer, the Norwegian, who was wrecked on a rock in the sea,—and sailed with them to Eriksfiord, until they reached Brattahlid, the residence of Erik. This expedition contributed both to the wealth and honour of Leif, and from that time he was called Leif the Lucky.

During the next winter, Erik the Red died in his ancient faith, unwilling to abandon it in his old age. Imbued with pagan pride, he said that his son's luck and ill-luck balanced each other; for if Leif had found Vinland the Good, and saved a wreck in the ocean, he had brought also a hurtful person with him to Greenland, and that was the priest.

Leif succeeded his father as chieftain in Greenland, and could not easily leave that country again, but he felt all the importance of the discovery of the great Western mainland. Timber was an article of first necessity for the woodless northern regions, colonised by bold seafarers, and the grapes a luxury too much coveted. Leif therefore sent an expedition, under the command of his brother Thorwald, in the following spring to Vinland. They arrived safely at Leifsbudir,—the dwellings erected by Leif—and remained there for two years, supporting themselves by catching fish, and exploring the country in different directions, in the interior, and along the shore. But here, for the first time, they met natives, and killed nine of them; the others escaped to their canoes, and returning next morning with their friends assailed the Northmen. Thorwald was wounded by a poisoned arrow, and died. His companions buried him at a place which he had found previously so pleasant, that he wished to fix his habitation there; and they put a cross at his head and another at his feet, and called the place Krossa-Ness, the promontory of crosses. In the following spring (1005), they returned to Greenland, and conveyed the melancholy intelligence to Leif.

Hearing the account of his brother's death, Thorstein, the third son of Erik, was seized with a strong desire to pass over to Vinland, to fetch the body of his brother Thorwald, and to bury it in a consecrated ground. He fitted out a vessel and manned it with twenty-five men, selected for their strength and stature, besides himself and Gudrid his wife, whom he had married shortly before. Gudrid, according to the Icelandic account of the discovery of America, excelled all other women in beauty and in every accomplishment and grace, and she knew that she was destined to an uncommon fate. Thorbiorn, her father, had lived in Iceland in a liberal and sumptuous way, regardless of his income. He delighted in magnificence and entertained his friends in a princely manner. Once he gave a great feast in spring: the company was numerous, and the banquet splendid, and he said to his guests: "I have lived here long and have found all men kind and friendly, and all our intercourse has been most happy. At length, however, I find myself threatened with pecuniary diffi-

culties, although till this time I have been considered to abound in wealth. I prefer to leave the country rather than lose the station which I hold; wherefore I design to seek a home elsewhere, in preference to reducing my present establishment. I shall rely on the promises which Erik the Red, my friend, made when we separated. I have determined in the ensuing summer to go to Greenland." All were grieved at this sudden change, for Thorbiorn was much beloved; they knew, however, that it was in vain to expostulate.

Thorbiorn presented gifts to all; the banquet closed, and each returned to his own home. He sold his lands, and bought a ship, and put out to sea, and many of his friends accompanied him. But the passage was unlucky, they met with many disasters. Disease attacked them, half of the whole company died, and all the survivors underwent much suffering and hardship. It was but in the beginning of winter that they reached Heriulfsness, in Greenland, where Thorkel, a man of great authority, extended his hospitality to them, though there was at that time a great scarcity in Greenland, for those who had gone out, had some of them returned with small supplies, others had not returned at all.

Thorkel was anxious to ascertain when the present scarcity would be relieved; he therefore invited a fortune-teller, Thorbiong, called the Little Witch, the only survivor of nine sisters, all fortune-tellers.

An elevated seat was prepared for her, on which was a cushion, stuffed with cocks' feathers. When evening was come, the witch arrived. Her outer garment was a blue cloak, trimmed all over with ribands, and ornamented with precious stones all round the border. She had on a necklace with glass beads; on her head she wore a black hood, made of lamb's skin, lined with white cat's skin. She carried in her hand a staff adorned with copper and precious stones, fixed into its head. Her girdle was of bark, from which hung a large leather pouch; her high shoes, covered with hair, were of calf's skin, with long latchets, to the extremities of which were fastened little bells of tin; her gloves were of cat's skin, white, and hairy on the inside.

She was received with the utmost respect, and at the dinner she got a mess of goat's milk, and the hearts of all animals which could be obtained; she used a copper spoon and a brazen knife, with a handle of a twisted tooth, and the point of which was broken.

The next day, towards evening, all preparations were made which she required for her incantations. She desired that some women should be found who could sing the *Vardlokkur;* mystic verses, alluring the tutelary genii. But no women could be found able to sing those verses, when Gudrid said, "I am neither learned nor a propheteess, but Halidis, my *friend,* taught me a song in Iceland, which she called Vardlokkur, but I *cannot* take any part in this matter, for I am a Christian maid." The *witch* replied,—"You may render great assistance to others, and without

any loss to yourself." Then Thorkel endeavoured to persuade Gudrid, until she consented to do as he wished. Then all the women surrounded the place of incantation, the witch sitting on an elevation in the midst, and Gudrid sang the mystic verses in tones so sweet, and with such grace, that each one present thought he had never heard anything so harmonious or sweet before.

The fortune-teller declared then to Thorkel, that the scarcity will not endure, the coming spring will hail a happier year, and the diseases which now oppress the people will leave them soon. Turning now to Gudrid: "To you," she said, "for the assistance which you have rendered, I will give an immediate reward, for your future is known to me. You will marry a man here in Greenland, of most honourable station; but you will not enjoy him long, for your life will be passed in Iceland, where a great and noble race shall spring from you. A more glorious destiny awaits your offspring than it is in my power to testify. And now, daughter, hail, and fare thee well."

The witch was yet entreated by several others, and her responses did not err, but Thorbiorn went away from a house where such superstitions were entertained. The weather became milder, and Thorbiorn proceeded to Brattahlid, where Erik received him friendly, and gave him land, and Thorbiorn built a sumptuous mansion, and soon after, his daughter Gudrid married Thorstein, the youngest son of Erik, and accompanied him in his pious enterprise of bringing back the corpse of Thorwald from Vinland to Greenland. But the expedition was ill fated; through the whole summer they were tossed on the deep, and driven they knew not whither. At last they made land, and found that they were at the west coast of Greenland, and met there Thorstein, the heathen, surnamed the Swarthy, with his wife Grimhild, lone settlers on the inhospitable shore. Thorstein, Erik's son, and Gudrid, proceeded to their house. The expedition had much to suffer during winter (1005-6), a severe disease attacked the sailors, and carried off many of them; but Thorstein would not leave them in unconsecrated ground, and had coffins made for all the bodies, for he intended to carry them all to Eriksfiord in the ensuing summer. One evening Grimhild went out with Gudrid, and when the ladies had reached the outer door, Grimhild uttered a loud cry. She had seen the whole band of the dead men moving along, and amongst them she had seen herself, and Thorstein, Erik's son, with a whip in his hand, lashing the crowd before him. When she came back into house she fell ill, and before morning she died. At the close of the same day Thorstein, Erik's son, died also, and Gudrid, his wife, was much afflicted; but after midnight he rose once more, and told to Gudrid that those are blessed who hold the Christian faith, for they will have salvation and mercy; but many observe the faith but ill, and men are buried in unconsecrated ground, and few funeral rites are performed; therefore he *wished, with the other* dead men, to be buried in a consecrated church, and

his money divided between the church and the poor. Having thus spoken he expired.

Thorstein the Swarthy did all that his guest had wished for, and in the following spring he sold his farm and cattle, and carried Gudrid and all her property down to Brattahlid, to Leif: and Gudrid had her husband and the others buried in the church, with proper funeral rites, and remained in the family of Leif.

In autumn, Thorfinn, surnamed Karlsefne (of manly endowment), an Icelander of kingly lineage, came with Biarni Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason, on a mercantile expedition, with three ships to Eriksfiord, in Greenland. They remained the winter with Leif, and after Christmas, Thorfinn began to treat with him as to the marriage of Gudrid, Leif being the person to whom the right of betrothment belonged. The chief had no objection to make, and the nuptials were celebrated at Brattahlid during the same winter, and a new expedition was prepared to Vinland the Good, on a large scale, for the charms of a comparatively southern climate had an irresistible force upon the imagination of the Icelanders. Thorfinn, Biarni, and Thorhall made up their mind to visit the country with their ships, and Freydisa, the natural daughter of Erik, with her husband Thorward, went with them. There were a hundred and sixty men in all; they took with them all kinds of live stock, for they designed to colonise the land, and Leif granted to Thorfinn all the use of the dwellings he had erected in Vinland, but he did not give them to him.

They sailed first to the west coast of Greenland, then to the northern coast of the American Continent, Helluland Mikla, the land of vast flat stones and foxes (Labrador). They came then to Markland, covered with wood, in which were many wild animals (Nova Scotia); and at last to Vinland. There were two Scots on board, a man Haki, and a woman Hekia, given to Leif by King Olaf Trygwason in Norway, and Leif had given them to Thorfinn because they were swifter of foot than wild animals. Thorfinn put these Scots on shore, directing them to run over the country for three days and then return. The ships lay-to during their absence; when they returned, one carried in his hand a bunch of grapes, the other an ear of corn. Thorfinn knew now that he was near Vinland, and they continued their course along the shore until they came to a fiord, which penetrated far into the land, and they called it Stromfiord (probably Buzzard Bay). On the mouth of it there was an island with strong currents round it, and they found such a vast number of eyder ducks on the island, that they could scarcely walk without treading on the eggs. They directed their course into this bay, disembarked, and made preparations for remaining, for the situation of this place was pleasant, and they found abundance of pasturage for their cattle. In autumn a son was born to Thorfinn and Gudrid; they called him Snorri Thorfinnson, the first child of European blood born in the mainland of America, the ancestor of the

most celebrated sculptor of our age, Thorwaldsen. This founder of the Museum of Copenhagen is the lineal descendant of Thorfinn and Gudrid.

At Stromfiord they passed the winter, but it was very severe; they could neither hunt nor fish, and their provisions ran short. They prayed to God that he would send them food, but the prayer was not answered so soon as they desired. They were deceived in their dreams about Vinland the Good, and their feelings are very well expressed in the verses which Thorhall sang when he was carrying water to his ship:

I left the shores of Eriksford
To seek, oh cursed Vinland! thine,
Each warrior pledging there his word
That we should here quaff choicest wine.
Great Odin, warrior god, see how
These waterpails I carry now,
No wine my lips have touched, but low
At humblest fountain I must bow.

Thorhall, called the Hunter, had been always ill affected to Christianity since its introduction in Iceland, and as he saw that the prayers of the others had no success, he went on the top of a rock, and mumbled out his incantations to his gods. A short time after, a whale was cast ashore, they dressed it, and all ate of it, and Thorhall said: "Now you see that Thor is more ready to give aid than your Christ. This food is the reward of a hymn which I composed to Thor, who has rarely forsaken me." When they heard this, none would eat any more; and so they threw all the remainder of the flesh from the rocks, commending themselves to God. After which the air became milder, they were again able to go fishing and hunting, and there was abundance of eggs taken on the island, and of fish caught in the sea, and of wild animals on the mainland.

In spring, Thorhall and his party separated from Thorfinn, and went north to explore Vinland; but they were met by an adverse tempest, and driven off on to the coast of Ireland, and there made slaves.

Thorfinn sailed towards the south-west, to Mount Hope Bay; they found wild corn where the land was low, and where it rose higher vines were found; every river was full of fish, and in the forest there were a great number of wild animals. They passed a month here carelessly before they found any natives: the first they saw seemed to be much astonished, and retired. Thorfinn and his companions erected dwellings at a little distance from the lake, and in the next spring they began to trade with the natives, who desired above all things to obtain some red cloth, in exchange for which they offered various kinds of skins,—the first beginning of the American fur trade. They were anxious also to purchase swords and spears, but this Thorfinn forbade; in the same way as afterwards it became

a capital crime, at the time of the settlement of Virginia, to sell muskets to the Indians of Powhattan's confederacy.

But Thorfinn's colony had soon after to contend with all the difficulties which so often disturbed the prosperity of the later settlers. The natives came on them with fearful howling, and Thorfinn's party, surprised by the sudden attack, began to flee along the course of the river. In vain did Freydisa, a woman of manly courage, who in the state of pregnancy could not keep up with them, try to rally them. She was pursued by the Indians, and as she saw a man lying dead, she seized his sword which lay naked by his side, and brandished it against the natives, who were seized by a panic and fled back to their canoes.

Thorfinn and his followers extolled the courage of Freydisa, they dressed their own wounds and buried their dead; but they thought it obvious, that although the quality of the land was excellent, yet there would always be danger to be apprehended from the natives; they therefore prepared to depart, and returned first to Stromfiord, and after a second encounter with the natives, to Markland and Greenland. They had been absent for three years, and brought back the most valuable cargo, but Biarni Grimolfson was driven out into the ocean, and nothing was ever heard of him. Thorfinn returned afterwards to Norway, where he was honoured by all the great men, and settled definitely in Iceland. From him and his wife sprang a numerous and illustrious race, and several of the first men in Denmark, up to the present day, trace their pedigree to him. After his death, Gudrid took a journey to Rome, and passed the remainder of her life in the solitude of a convent in Iceland.

In 1011, a ship from Norway came to Greenland; the vessel belonged to two brothers, Helge and Tinboge, who wintered in Greenland. And Freydisa proposed to them, to join in a new expedition to Vinland, each party to have thirty men, and to divide the gain equally. They agreed and set out, and reached Leif's booths, where they spent the winter; but Freydisa, who had taken five men more with her than the agreement allowed, quarrelled with the brothers; murdered them, with the whole of their people, and returned in spring to Greenland. Her conduct excited the anger of Leif, and he withheld from her children all places of trust and honor.

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I cannot leave this interesting chapter of the first discovery of America, without mentioning one Icelandic Saga more, which needs but the rhythmic form to be one of the most charming ballads; it is the Saga of the minstrel Biorn Asbrandson Breidvikingakappi, the champion of Breidavick.

Thorbiorn the Fat had married the sister of the champion, and after her death the beautiful Thurid. He was killed in an affray, and Snorri Godi, the brother of Thurid, undertook the process for the death of Thorbiorn,

and also obliged his sister to remove to his own house, for it was rumoured that Biorn Asbrandson paid close attention to her, and Snorri deemed him not wealthy enough to be the husband of his sister. He gave her away to Thorodd, the rich merchant of Froda, but Biorn Asbrandson paid her frequent visits at her own house at Froda, and Thorodd was blamed by Orn and Val, the sons of Thorer, that he suffered the visits of Biorn, and sat in the house when the minstrel was talking to Thurid. Thorodd, therefore, with his two friends, and two of his men, were determined to kill Biorn, who, warned by Thurid, bade her a mournful farewell, and went on his way homeward. As he was mounting the hill Digramul, five men leaped out upon him from ambush; the sons of Thorer pressed him hard and wounded him, but he slew them both, whilst Thorodd and his men fled. But Snorri Godi instituted a process against Biorn, in the court of Thornæsting, on account of the slaughter of the sons of Thorer, and Biorn was exiled for three years, and his father Abrand had to pay the usual fines.

Biorn went now to Jomsburg, in Pomerania, and was admitted into the fellowship of the knights of Jomsburg, a band of adventurous pirates, heathens and enemies of the Christians, organised by Toko, their chief, into a formidable company, courted and attacked in turn by the Northern kings, according to their interest. Biorn fought here many a bloody battle, and was esteemed a man of extraordinary courage. When Toko died, Biorn returned to Iceland, and was since always called the Champion of Breidavik. He lived in great splendour and luxury, in the manner of courtiers and nobles, and he was highly esteemed, because he was active and vigilant, and highly skilled in martial exercises.

Soon after the return of Biorn, a general market was held on the Bay of Froda, and all the merchants rode thither, clad in coloured garments, and there was a great assemblage. Thurid, of Froda, was also there, and Biorn immediately entered into conversation with her, and no one censured them for talking long together, for it had been several years since they had met. But Thorodd disliked this, and he bribed a witch, by a large sum, to raise a snow storm against Biorn, should he ever cross the hills to visit Thurid.

In winter Biorn went to Froda, and when he returned in the evening, the snow storm overtook him, and he could scarcely escape, his garments froze round his body, and he wandered he knew not whither: at length he reached a cave, and remained there for three days, until the storm abated. Thorodd having thus again failed to destroy the minstrel, invited Snorri Godi, his brother-in-law, in summer, and told him how much he was injured and insulted by Biorn, and that it behoved Snorri to destroy the evil.

Snorri Godi spread now the report that he was going down to his ship, but he rode back with his men to attack Biorn, and to destroy him; and he appointed Marr, his man, to give him the first wound. But Biorn, who was in the field, fashioning a dray with his long knife, saw Snorri and his

men riding down from the hills, and recognised them; and he took his knife, and went to meet them as soon as he could, and he seized instantly the sleeve of Snorri with one hand, and held the knife in the other, so that he was able to strike Snorri to the heart, if he saw that it was necessary to his own safety. The hands of Marr fell, for he saw that if he attacked Biorn, the latter would immediately kill Snorri. Then Biorn said, "Neighbour Snorri, my attitude seems threatening to you, but I have reason to believe, that you have come with hostile intentions. But now, if you have any business to transact with me, transact it openly,—if you have none, swear peace!"

"Our meeting has so fallen out," answered Snorri, "that we shall this time separate as much in peace as we were before. I wish, however, to obtain a promise from you, that you will abstain from visiting Thurid; for, if you persist in this, there never can be any sincere friendship between us." Biorn answered, "This will I promise, and I will observe it, but I do not know how I shall be able to observe it, while I and Thurid live in the same land."

"There is nothing so important detaining you here," answered Snorri, "as to prevent your going to some other country." "That is true," answered Biorn, "and so let it be; let our interview close with this promise, that neither you nor Thorodd shall have cause to take any umbrage from my visits to Thurid in time to come."

They parted. The next day Biorn rode down to Krossahaven, and engaged his passage in a ship for the same summer. They set sail with a north-east wind, which prevailed during that summer, and of the fate of that ship nothing was heard more.

Some thirty years later, Gudleif, the merchant of Stromfiord, in Iceland, in his return from Dublin, fell in with north-east and east winds, and was driven far into the ocean, so that no land was seen. Many prayers were offered by Gudleif and his men, that they might escape their perils, till at length they saw land. It was of great extent, and they knew not what land it was.

Not willing to struggle any longer with the perils of the ocean, they cast anchor; but when they had gone ashore, they were seized and fettered by the natives, and brought before an assembly, where the natives were disputing what should be done with them; they gathered, that some were for slaying them, others for distributing them among the different villages and making slaves of them. Whilst the debate was going on, a large body of men came riding along with a banner elevated in the midst, and under the banner they saw a man, tall, and of military deportment, aged and grey-headed, and all the natives treated him with great respect. He accosted Gudleif in the Norse tongue, and having ascertained that he was an Icelander, the chief asked him whether Snorri Godi was alive still, and his *sister* Thurid, and enquired with a special interest into every particular *relating to* them.

The natives growing impatient that some decision should be come to, as to the fate of the strangers, the old man took with him twelve of the natives, and talked with them apart for a long time. At length he returned, and said, "the natives have left the matter to my decision, I will now therefore permit you to depart, and although the summer is far advanced, I recommend you to depart immediately, for these people are faithless, and difficult to deal with, and they think that they have now been deprived of their just right."

Then Gudleif enquired, "Whom shall we report, if we ever reach our native land again, to have done us this great favour?" "That I will not tell you," answered he, "for I am unwilling that any of my relatives and friends should come hither, and meet with such a fate as you would have met, had I not saved you. Age creeps upon me now so fast, that I almost expect each day to be my last; and then, there are in this land men of greater power than myself, and these would not grant peace or safety to any foreigner."

Before their departure he pulled a golden ring from off his finger, and gave it to Gudleif, saying, "If fortune grant that you reach Iceland, give this ring to Thurid of Froda." Gudleif inquired, "Who shall I say was the sender of this precious gift?" He answered, "Say that he sent it, who loved the lady of Froda better than her brother the Godi of Helgafal." He gave to him also a sword for Thurid's son, and when Gudleif and his party had reached Iceland, he delivered the ring and the sword, and it was generally thought, that there could be no doubt the man they had seen was the Scald Biorn Breidvikingakappi, and the country where they had been Huitramannaland, the land south of Vinland.*

* I am indebted for the facts mentioned in this Appendix principally to "The Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century;" by Joshua Toulmin Smith, who has translated the documents published by the Northern Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, with a most learned and lively Commentary, in dialogical form.

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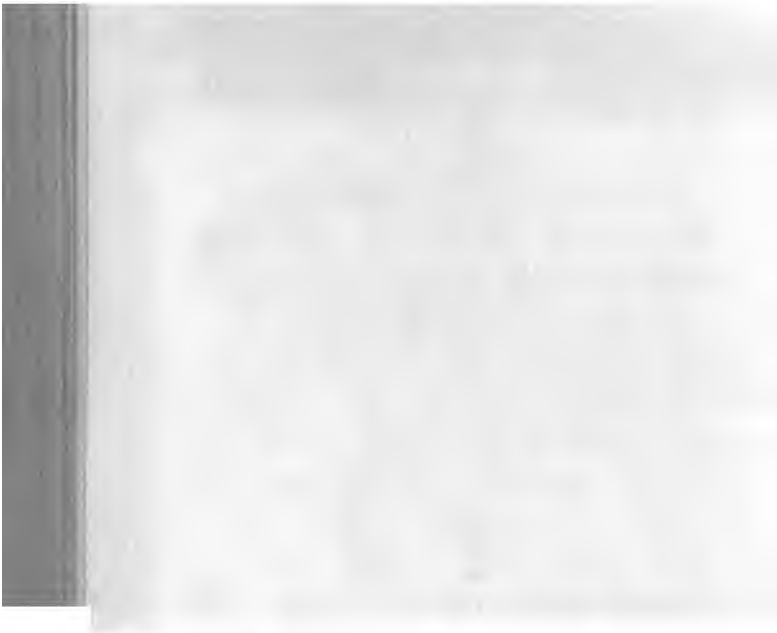

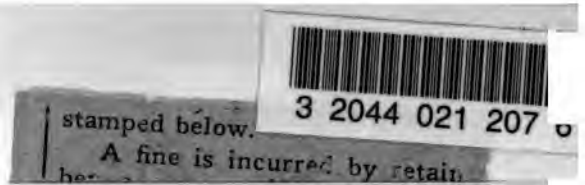


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